

feasting, to beautiful women and to amorous intrigues. Jatiswara went on to Ki Ajidarma, and then to Ki Nuwahdat, whose sister, Ratna Dumoling, made things difficult for him. He continued on his way, till he met Ki Cahya Carmin, who explained that the women he had met so far had misled him; and he told him that his brother, Sajati, was in the land of Wadapara. Later, Jatiswara reached the court of Ki Bujangga Adimulya, and met his beautiful daughters. Here too, feasts were prepared and theological discussions held. After further adventures with Ki Aji Saka, Ki Sah Wali and the princess Déwi Raras Ati, he came to the land of Simpar, where he met Sèh Candra, with whom he had theological discussions, and his wife, Madu Brangta, tried to seduce him, but without success. He then went on to meet Ki Abdul Saèh, and in the end found his brother, Sajati, doing penance on the seashore. Jatiswara urged him to marry, but Sajati protested that he already had a bride in heaven. Jatiswara announced that they must leave the land and go on pilgrimage, and the two brothers went to the land of Besi, where a relation of theirs, Raja Suryadi had been adopted by the ruler of Baghdad and married the princess of Besi. Jatiswara wanted to go and look for his mother, and he and Sajati disappeared on their journey, but eventually returned to their own land.

Many *Jatiswara* manuscripts have been reported from Lombok. Among the 21 noted by Behrend, 9 are in the Leiden University Library, and 9 are in the National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta, which also has a further four from the Engelenberg collection, E.18, E.40, E.52, E.56, and the Gedong Kirtya Singaraja, has 7: K.1258, K.2339, K.10,007, K.10,024, K.10,028, K.10,051 and K.10,068.

The Mataram NTB manuscript is described and excerpted in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:25-6). The compiler's comments on the episode of the encounter between Jatiswara and Si Sumantra (stanzas 167-8), indicate the character of the work (my translation):

'This text quoted from the *Jatiswara* provides teaching at two levels. At the literal, it shows how a woman should give pleasure to her husband. When she indicates where to find the key, he can use his body to the best advantage and achieve the greatest joy. When the woman reveals the secret of the keys of the body, her husband will want to come to bed; as long as she is uncertain, he will only achieve boredom. Similarly, the *Jatiswara* illustrates the teaching of Sufi mysticism, how to recognise the attributes of God [...]. The pleasure of union with the Creator can only be achieved when one knows the way (*tarékat*), through *sir* (passion, mystical desire). When the name of God is only mouthed, but the heart is distracted, this is to no purpose: it is fruitless and cannot give satisfaction.' (Mataram 1991a: 97.)

4. Religious poems

There are a number of short Javanese poems in *macapat* metres, current in Lombok, many of which are mystical *suluk* of Sufi origin, and others of more general and popular devotion, often embracing legends and ideas which are heterodox by normal Muslim standards. Those known in Lombok are firstly some of the best-known *suluk* of Java, and secondly some of more local origin, whether from Bali or Lombok itself. These are to be found in manuscripts of Lombok provenance which are anthologies of such works, from which a general picture of the *suluk* and related literature known to the Sasak can be judged. However the amount of such material in the collections is rather small, so that any analysis and judgement must be taken as purely tentative.

In Java, some of the collections are very extensive, and these are well represented by manuscripts in the Leiden University Library. Brief introductions to the subject are given in English by E.M. Uhlenbeck (1964:123-5) and by Th.G.Th. Pigeaud (1967, I:85-7). For well over a century, Dutch scholars have edited editions and made assessments of this genre. Hendrik Kraemer in his thesis of 1921 took a negative view, speaking of the stagnation of Islam and its lack of originality in its Javanese setting, while P.J. Zoetmulder (1935) had a more favourable view, observing that the heretical mysticism produced the most original part of the religious literature of the Muslims of Indonesia, and pleaded for further research on Javanese *suluk* as an important means to understand the spiritual ideas of the people. It is the latter view which is most likely to facilitate an understanding of Islam in Lombok. The division between the two groups of Sasak Muslims, the Waktu Telu and the Waktu Lima is often represented as a contrast between a unique kind of heresy and orthodox Islam. However, the character of both and their interrelationship is much more complex and subtle than this. The Waktu Telu has much affinity with Javanese mysticism, as well as some syncretistic features relating it to Balinese Hinduism. The local tradition is that the Waktu Lima derives from the Malays, who are Sunnis of the Shafi'i school. However, the old Malay Muslim legendary and devotional literature is itself unorthodox and owes some of its attitudes and much of its material to Persian Shia sources which have been transmitted by way of India. The Muslim literature of Lombok, both in Javanese and Sasak, owes a great deal to the earlier Malay literature, and has preserved some of these early features.

The analysis of *suluk* literature from Lombok would suggest that the selection of and survival of material of Javanese origin depended partly on its compatibility with the kind of syncretistic and mystic Islam which became prevalent in the island from the seventeenth century onwards, but also partly on its form. In the course of time, the number of types of *macapat* metre

used in Javanese and Sasak poems in Lombok was reduced to six. The probability is that these six reflect the traditional tunes which were known, or were used by singers and singing groups, and that Javanese poems imported into Lombok which were written in other metres, fell into desuetude among the Sasak. However, the most frequent and most important metre used for *suluk*, and which was commonly associated with the dissemination of Javanese Islamic mystical ideas, was the *dangdang gula*, in practice the longest of the Javanese verse forms, with 10 lines and 84 syllables to a stanza. The most important example of this in Lombok was the *Jatiswara*, in a version entirely in *dangdang gula*, which though a long narrative poem, is, both in content and sentiment, closely related to the shorter *suluk*. The second most favoured metre in Lombok, certainly more than in Java, was the *mas kumambang* in four lines and 34 syllables. Among the Sasak it is sometimes known as the *syair*, and is often used for short dramatic interludes; but it differs in structure from the Malay *syair*. The other metres used are *asmarandana*, *durma*, *pangkur* and *sinom*. In the Van der Tuuk collection, there are some anthologies of *suluk* in *tengahan* metres. As far as can be ascertained, these all appear to be of Balinese provenance and are not current among the Sasak. Examples of these are L.Or.3640, L.Or.3883 and L.Or.4000. Another manuscript, L.Or.3892, contains what appear to be three unique *suluk*, in *macapat* metres from Klungkung. None of these manuscripts of Balinese provenance will be considered here.

Among the *suluk* and related texts most often found in Lombok, the most frequently met are *Malang Sumirang*, *Paras Nabi*, *Purwadaksina* and *Rumeksa ing wengi*. Also popular are some of those attributed to Tuwan Sumeru, and apparently originating in Bali or Lombok. These include *Mula ning manusa*, *Mula ning pati* and a text often associated with them, *Smaragama sangupati*. Other *suluk* from Java which are occasionally met include *Jebèng*, *Nukat Ghaib*, *Martabat pitu*, *Paésan wahya-jatmika*, *Samsu Tamris*. Themes which recur in texts of Sasak provenance include *Sipat kalih-dasa*, on the twenty attributes of God, sometimes incorporated in longer texts; *suluk* which may vary in content, but use extended comparisons between the spiritual life and the *wayang*; and treatments of *ma'rifat*, the knowledge of God gained by the Sufi in the highest state of his meditation.

Among the manuscripts of the Engelenberg collection in the National Library, Jakarta, two appear to be *suluk*. One is entitled *Kitab ma'rifat* (E.67), written in Javanese in the Arabic script on paper. Its subject is *sangkanparan*: origin and destiny, that is on the first and last states of man in his life. E.180 is *Sipat dua-puluh* (see below, under *Sipat kalih-dasa*). In the following descriptions, the nine manuscripts are designated A - J. All are anthologies of *suluk* or similar works, and with the exception of L.Or.3945 are of known Lombok provenance. L.Or.3945 is the most interesting, but also the most problemat-

ical: it is a copy made for Van der Tuuk, but nothing is known of the original. It contains 17 items, of which nos 10 and 14 are known to be from Lombok; of the rest, all that can be tested are compatible with items from Lombok, and no other sources are given in the text, though some were originally compiled in Java. What is not clear is whether it is a copy of an existing palm-leaf manuscript, or whether it is a collection compiled at Van der Tuuk's behest. Following the physical descriptions of the manuscripts, is an alphabetical list of titles of the constituent poems, with reference to the manuscripts in which they occur. The result must be reckoned as a very provisional survey of some of the Muslim devotional literature in the form of short poems used by the Sasak, which can at best provide a starting point for a more rigorous investigation.

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| A. L.Or.3191 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 37 folios, small, from Cakranegara, containing 2 poems (Pigeaud 1968, II:111) |
| B. L.Or.3698 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 19 folios, of Sasak provenance, with six Muslim religious poems in Javanese (Van der Tuuk collection; Pigeaud 1968 II:128) |
| C. L.Or.3945 | Paper Manuscript, 110 pages, with 17 Muslim religious poems in Javanese, two of which are of certain Sasak provenance (Van der Tuuk collection; Pigeaud 1968 II: 166-7) |
| D. L.Or.3986 | Paper manuscript, 9 folios (18 pages), with six Muslim poems in Javanese, of Lombok provenance (Van der Tuuk collection; Pigeaud 1968 II:177) |
| E. L.Or.5060 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 26 folios, from Lombok, with 4 Muslim religious poems in Javanese (Lombok collection; Pigeaud 1968 II:25; Juynboll 1911:52) |
| F. L.Or.5195 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 26 folios, from Lombok, with 7 Muslim religious poems in Javanese (Lombok collection; Pigeaud 1968 II:28; Juynboll 1911:124) |
| G. L.Or.5280 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 49 folios, from Lombok, with 3 Muslim religious poems in Javanese. Copied in AD 1860 (Pigeaud 1968 II:29; Juynboll 1911:136; Lombok collection) |
| H. L.Or.5353 | Palm-leaf manuscript, 1 folio, from Lombok. <i>Malang Sumirang</i> , <i>suluk</i> (Pigeaud 1968 II:297; Juynboll 1911:498; Lombok collection) |
| J. L.Or.11,075(4) | Typed lists of manuscripts from Central and Eastern Lombok in the possession of villagers in 1928. Titles only, including some of <i>suluk</i> , specified below. |

Alphabetical list of titles with notes.

1. *Aksara Allah, Suluk*. On the four *aksara*, or letters of the Arabic alphabet, *alif, lam, lam, ha*, which constitute the name of Allah; ending with notes on the *birahi* (here mystical passion?) of many sheikhs, including Mangsur, Bayadin and Masudi. *dangdang gula*, one canto, 15 stanzas (C.12).
2. *Balkum, Suluk*. On the importance of the *syahadat*, the Muslim creed. *asmarandana*, one canto, 27 stanzas (C.5).
3. *Bundel, Kidung*. *Bundel* usually refers to the tying of a knot, or of animals interlocked in intercourse. Here it probably refers to creation. This is a short Muslim cosmology, including many Arabic words and expressions, e.g. *loh mahfudh* = the writing tablet of protection, *Setwan* (for Satan), *Belis* = Iblis, the devil, *roh* = spirit, *jasad* = the body. In *primbon* metre = *dangdang gula*, 11 stanzas. (This may be connected with the *Rumeksa ing wengi*, see below) (B.5, F.5, G.1).
4. *Jati ning manusa, Suluk*. This poem is concerned with truth (*jati*) among mankind, and discusses *tauhid*, knowledge of the unity of God = Muslim theology; and *ma'rifat*, higher esoteric knowledge of the divinity: *mas kumambang*, one canto, 30 stanzas (C.13).
5. *Jebèng, Suluk*. *Jebèng* = young woman. Stanza 1, line 2 has *jebèng susurupan*, a woman of knowledge, so perhaps the divine wisdom is indicated here. The theme is that if one wants to know God, one must know oneself, for man equals God. See L.Or.1796(17), from Surakarta, L.Or.7375(19) from Cirebon, and several other Cirebon manuscripts. *dangdang gula*, one canto, 24 stanzas (C.6).
6. *Jowar awal, jowar akhir*. A mystical tract: 'the first and last blooming of the Siamese Cassia tree'. It discusses the placing of the vowel points in the Persi-Arabic script: *zabar* (= *a*) and *zer* (= *i*) on the *jowar* (the tree perhaps refers to the mystic text). According to Juynboll (1911:460), the end is so anti-Muslim, that he who keeps the five obligations of Islam (*sadat, salat, jakat, puwasa, haji*) must be considered *haram*. However, the real meaning of this may be the Sufi claim that spiritual understanding supersedes outward observance. The positive content of the poem has to do with *tauhid* and *ma'rifat*. One canto, apparently in *lontang* metre (stanzas of three lines each of twelve syllables, normally ending with *a* in the last) (C.2).
7. *Kembang ing langit*. 'The flower in the sky', by Tuwan Sumeru. This is a short poem, dealing with the power of God (*kudratullah*), the divine light (*nurullah*) and the foremost mosque (*Baitul-mukadam*, perhaps = Mecca). *asmarandana*, one canto, 7 stanzas (D.5, F.4).
8. *Malang Sumirang, Suluk*. This poem is by Pangéran Panggung, and is one of the most widely known *suluk*. *Malang* has to do with hindrance, prevention, and the whole title as given by Pigeaud (1968, II:177) under L.Or.3986(1) is *Malang Sumirang amurang niti*, which suggests guarding against deviation

from the right guidance. This copy begins with the invocation *Awighnam astu*, as in Hindu documents, and not with the normal *Bismillah*. The poem includes references to *sembahyang* (worship), and *jakat* (statutory alms), and ends with the phrase: *iya teges ing Selam*: 'this is the meaning of Islam'. The author is said to have composed the text on the funeral pyre (see Drewes 1927), which includes the text and a Dutch translation of the *Suluk Malang Sumirang*. See further, L.Or.7503(1), from Madura, L.Or.8592(10), from Cirebon, and many other references. The poem is in one canto, *dangdang gula* (D.1, F.7, H) (see also Poerbatjaraka and Tardjan Hadidjaja 1952:10-2 for excerpt).

9. *Ma'lumat Adam Muki = Nokat Ghaib, Suluk*. This is a devotional and didactic poem on Muslim theology. Many Arabic terms are introduced: *iman tauhid* = faith in the unity of God; *cahya sipat kalih, sipat jamal, jalal*, = the light of two kinds, beauty and glory; *akékat* = truth; *tasdik* = verification; *sadat* (for *syahadat*) = the Muslim creed. A version of this poem occurs in many collections from Java, e.g. L.Or.1796(9) from Surakarta, L.Or.6591(1) from Semarang, L.Or.7403(8), perhaps from Sunda. The poem is in one canto, *sinom*, of 26 stanzas (C.8).

10. *Ma'rifat, Kitab = Sangkan paran*. In the Engelenberg collection, E.67 is a copy on paper in the Arabic script. Origin and destiny: the beginning and end of man's estate. There is a manuscript on palm leaves in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali, (K.478), which includes *raja* and schematic figures. A romanized copy is held at L.Or.9316 (see Pigeaud 1968, II:551).

11. *Martabat pitu, Suluk*. The seven degrees. This is a Sufi tract, the present copy originating from Mataram, Lombok, confirming the probable Lombok provenance of the anthology, L.Or.3945. It begins with *ahadiya*, the condition of the mind, completely absorbed in the divinity, and goes on to meditate on the *Insan Kamil*, the perfect man, in whom divine and human attributes are united. There are many copies of this *suluk* in collections from Java (see Pigeaud 1968, II:306 for a list). In two cantos, *asmarandana*, 21 stanzas and *sinom*, 36 stanzas (C.10).

12. *Martabat ta'yun, Suluk*. The degrees of perception, or of the establishing esoteric truth by the Sufi way. It has to do with the attributes of Allah and their mystical interpretation. Apparently a unique example of this text. In one canto, *dangdang gula*, 23 stanzas (C.9).

13. *Mula ning manusa*. On the origin of man, by Tuwan Sumeru. A Sufi tract, with many Arabic terms: the poem is said to be *saking Arab wijilé* = of Arabic origin. It refers to *ahérat* (the last judgement), *manjeli* (= that which is apparent), *jasad* (the body), Mecca and Umar Maya, the companion of Amir Hamzah. It is in one canto, *pangkur*, in 10 stanzas. The last line, *Tinembang Asmara mithyaningda* is a marker for the metre of the following canto, a different poem, showing these anthologies were probably written up or adapt-

ed as sequences. Apparently not represented in collections from Java (B.3, D.4, F.3).

14. *Mula ning pati*. On the origin of death, by Tuwan Sumeru. A companion piece to no. 13. The subject is declared in the first lines: *Iyuh dahat ing dadi wyang/Yan tan wruh mula ning pati/Mwang mula ning urip reko*. The poet holds that the *jati* or true nature of Islam does not differ from that of the *kafir*, the unbelievers; Mecca is watched over by angels. In one canto, *sinom* (B.2, D.3, E.3, F.2).

15. *Mula?* A new beginning (G.2).

16. *Nata Pandita, Suluk*. The Wise King = *Surya Laga*. Lessons given to his wife on creation and the unity of God. A fragment. There are extended versions at L.Or.1795(2) in 6 cantos, from Surakarta, and at L.Or.3360 from Cirebon (F.6).

17. *Nur wadat*. The single light (Arabic *wahda*). This is described by Pigeaud (1968, II:259) as 'Lessons on Muslim mysticism given by Jayèng Swara, mentioning Nur Wadat: Jatiswara-Centini tale'. In *macapat* verse (E.4).

18. *Paésan wahya-jatmika, Suluk*. The example of harmony of manners of the ideal man. This is a discussion between a man and a woman on the nature of the body, uncleanness, ablutions, *jinabat* (the great ritual impurity), and what is *perlu* (obligatory) in all these matters. Stanzas 41-2 speak of Ali and Fatimah. This *suluk* is widely known in Java and elsewhere, for example L.Or.1795(8), from Surakarta, L.Or.7375(30), from Cirebon, L.Or. 7503(2) from Madura, and many others. One canto, 44 stanzas, *asmarandana*. (The ideal man is called *Insan kamil*) (C.7).

19. *Paras Nabi = Nabi cukur*. Of the Prophet's shaving. This text has already been discussed in the previous chapter. It is said to be associated with the call of the Prophet Muhammad. It is widely met in compilations from Java; and in the anthologies now being discussed, see A.1 and C.16, and in the 1928 list, J, two copies are mentioned.

20. *Purwadaksina*. A dialogue between Purwa Daksina and his wife on matters of daily life according to Muslim custom. These include the choice between good and bad *guru*, the question of *mas kawin* (dowry). One canto, *dangdang gula*. Frequently met in Java, for example L.Or.1795(1), from Surakarta, L.Or.4001(4) from western Pasisir. The 1928 Lombok list, J mentions three manuscripts of this text, apparently on its own.

21. *Rumeksa ing wengi, Kidung*. Protection in the night. This is one of the most frequently met devotional poems, often used as an amulet. In it, the author prays for protection against Satan, the jinn, fire and other dangers, and appeals to the *bidadari*, the heavenly nymphs, the angels, the Prophet Muhammad and the other prophets of Islam. In one canto, *dangdang gula*, 21 stanzas. The complete text, in Javanese square script, based on L.Or.4001(1) is given in Brandes (1901-26, II:60-3). There is an extended form of the poem,

with the title *Aji Belias* in the Gedong Kirtya, Bali collection at K.325, with a romanized transliteration at L.Or.9258, in which the first canto is similar to the other three manuscripts, but is followed by a further three short cantos, making the whole 41 stanzas long (see further K.1185 = L.Or.9665). Pigeaud (1968, II) notes about 30 copies of the *Kidung Rumeksa ing Wengi* from Java, Bali and Lombok (see index in Pigeaud 1970, III:366). There are single-canto versions from Lombok at A.2, B.6, E.1, F.7.

22. *Sèh Bèrèt = Samsu Tamris = Tabarit, Suluk*. Sheikh Tamris, in the presence of a youth, holds a discussion with the king of Rum (Byzantium), on subjects of the Muslim faith. As neither the king, nor his *pandita* can answer the young man's questions, the king turns to Sheikh Tamris. The discussions deal with *ghaib*, that is hidden matters concerning God, his prophets, the earth and heaven and so on. This *suluk* is well known in Java, some in versions of considerable length, for example L.Or.5604, L.Or.8591(1). (See also Drewes 1930.) In the Lombok version, the poem is in one canto *asmarandana*, 27 stanzas (C.11).

23. *Sèh Tirta Raga, Suluk*. The sheikh speaks about theological matters with a *modin* (*muezzin*, who calls the faithful to worship). He upbraids him for being concerned with the pillars of Islam (*sembahyang, puwasa, jakat, pitrah* and *hajj*), that this is not the main thing, for spiritual development is more important. This Sufi tract, like no. 6, above, which precedes it in the manuscript, points to the mystical and non-orthodox character of the anthology represented by L.Or.3945. In one canto, *durma*, 15 stanzas (C.3).

24. *Sidekah*. Of Muslim religious feasts. This is a didactic poem, referring to religious celebrations throughout the Muslim year, including *sidekah*, or religious meals. The text deals with the fast (*puwasa*) and with the *sidekah* held in honour of Husain, Amir Hamzah and Wusma (= Osman). In three cantos, *pankur, sinom* and *dangdang gula* (C.15).

25. *Sipat kalih dasa*. Of the twenty attributes of God. The list begins with *wujud* (existence), *kidam* (stability, steadfastness) and *bakaq* (eternity) and is to be found in various Sufi tracts. Pigeaud (1967, I:91) speaks of *sipat kalih dasa* as referring to God's twenty qualities as located in the human body. The list is also discussed by Goris (1938:284-5) under *sipat II*. The present text is also called *Sipat ing Hyang* and *Pamawusé bumi*. In one canto, *dangdang gula*, 65 stanzas (C.17; also Engelenberg E.180).

26. *Smaragama Sangupati*. A manual of knowledge about love. This is a mystic and erotic poem, citing the example of the union of Ali and Fatimah. Fatimah says to Ali that there is a city which he has not yet conquered. When Ali asks his father-in-law, the Prophet Muhammad, which city it is, he directs him to a wise old man, who tells him that the city is Fatimah herself. This is one of the poems attributed to Tuwan Sumeru. In one canto, *sinom*. B.1, D.2, E.2, F.1. Also known as *Kadam Sarap* (see Mataram J239, Mataram 1991a:97).

27. *Tèlèng ing lirang, Suluk*. The innermost depths of meaning, by Tuwan Sumeru. This is a continuation of no. 7, above, *Kembang ing langit*. In one canto, *asmarandana* (B.4).

28. *Tunjung putih*. The white lotus. A mystic riddle, referring to *kalam* (word) and *manikam* (jewel), apparently with metaphoric reference to sexual union as a symbol of the union between the soul and God (F.5).

29. *Tutur Nabi*. Teachings ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad. The whole text is given in Brandes (1901-26, III:240-1). In one canto, *dangdang gula*, in seven stanzas (C.4).

30. *Wayang, Suluk*. A didactic poem, mentioning several persons from the *Panji* cycle, as represented in the *wayang gedog*, including Wirun, Andaga, Kalang, Candrakirana and Bayan. In Lombok there is a connexion between the *wayang gedog* and the Sasak shadow play, which derives from it, but now uses the Amir Hamzah instead of the Panji repertoire. The present *suluk* has to do with Muslim eschatology, with references to *titi mustakim*, the bridge to be crossed at death, which is as narrow as a hair, which is crossed by the faithful, but from which sinners fall into hell (*jahannam*). It goes on to speak of heaven and *pardos* (paradise). In four cantos, 256 stanzas, beginning and ending in *asmarandana* (C.14). Compare L.Or.5280(3) = G.3, which is described as a *wayang* parable in 25 folios, palm leaf, which may be the same or a similar text. See further L.Or.7375(11) from Cirebon, in *dangdang gula*; L.Or.7703(3) from Banten.

Primbon

The *primbon* are more various, and less spiritual than the *suluk*, and may be in verse or prose. They have been variously described as vademecums, dealing with astrology and esoteric learning, almanacs and the like. The evidence of this class of work from Lombok is meagre. L.Or.5137 is a palm-leaf manuscript of 40 folios, beginning with the interpretation of names, some from the Panji tales, some Muslim, including references to Adam, and called *Ombak Rembon* (see Pigeaud 1968, II:272; Juynboll 1911:304-5; and L.Or.10,420, which is a romanized transliteration by Soegiarto). K.10,300, from the Gedong Kirtya, Bali (copy in KITLV Or.508) is a romanized transcript of a *primbon* from Sukarara, Central Lombok. The original is a paper manuscript in Javanese in 24 pages, in Arabic script on Muslim religious matters, including the mystical use of numbers and of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. It begins with a discussion of the times of prayer, *waktu subuh*, etc., mentions Pangéran Ratu and Pangéran Kudus, and appeals to the authority of the Qur'an and the *sastra kang awal*. It ends with a table of the values to be assigned to the Arabic letters.

Comparisons

The popular devotional Javanese literature which was current among the Sasak partly reflects the best-known *suluk* from Java, partly some influence from Balinese sources. How far there was an original *suluk* literature among the Sasak is difficult to judge, since the source material at present known is somewhat scanty. What is clear is that Sasak Islam owes a great deal to Javanese Muslim mysticism, often of a non-orthodox type. How far this fact may be used to interpret the dual character of Islam in Lombok, the Waktu Telu and the Waktu Lima, we shall defer to the third part, when texts in Sasak and some containing portions in both Sasak and Javanese will be considered. Some of these are overtly Waktu Telu and may provide a key to interpreting the less defined texts.

As far as *suluk* literature in Java is concerned, there are extensive studies; for comparison with that from Lombok, probably those relating to L.Or. 1795(1-2), including Zoetmulder's study (1935) and Poerbatjaraka's detailed description of the Jakarta copy of this, that is Brandes ms. no. 399 (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950:139-51), are the most useful; after these, the description of L.Or.1796 in Vreede's catalogue (1892:315-6); all these from Surakarta. Then L.Or.7375 in Javanese script as also the copy in Jakarta, Brandes ms. no. 383, with detailed description by Poerbatjaraka (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950:166-71) and romanized copies at L.Or.8592 and L.Or.10,766 from Cirebon, provide useful evidence of West Javanese parallels.

5. *Historical poems*

Lombok has its own *babad* or historical poems, the earlier ones in Javanese, beginning with myths and legends about creation, early times in Indonesia, and the settlement of Lombok. These continue with accounts of pre-Muslim religion, the political and cultural influences from Majapahit from the fourteenth century, the early Sasak kingdoms, the coming of Islam from Java in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the interventions of outsiders in the affairs of Lombok. The later history of the island, especially the Balinese conquest and rule of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the struggles and rebellions of the Sasak are described in *babad* in Sasak, and will be dealt with in a later chapter.

It is not yet possible to give a satisfactory account of the Lombok *babad*. Similar texts have different titles, and unrelated texts may have the same title, while the presentation of episodes and events varies in different manuscripts. Names and titles of individuals vary, while a lack of precise dates and details make it difficult to relate the history of Lombok to the external situa-

tion. European sources have a different focus of interest from the indigenous histories. All this points to the need for critical editions of the Lombok *babad* to be undertaken. There are sufficient manuscripts in the collections in Indonesia and the Netherlands for this to be done, and no doubt further search in Lombok and perhaps in Bali would reveal further materials for consideration.

Two principal types of text are known as *Babad Lombok*. It will be convenient to refer to the apparently earlier tradition by calling this *Babad Lombok Indra*, from the account of creation with which it opens. This is represented by Engelenberg manuscript E.1, of which Teeuw 9, now in the Leiden University Library, is a romanized transliteration. The original is a palm-leaf manuscript of 114 folios, copied in AH 1229 (AD 1814), and is in 51 cantos and 949 stanzas. It is described by Pigeaud (1968, II:820) and by Teeuw (1958:20). It deals with the early history of Lombok, up to the sixteenth century, and contains dynastic information and the genealogies of noble families. It begins with the myth of Betara Indra and Déwi Sita on Gunung Suwung, that is the isolated mountain, having forty-four children, among whom brothers married sisters and had many descendants. The names of the districts where these families settled are given, such as Bayan, the old community in the north of the island, and an account is given of Mount Renjani. There is a story of a *nakhoda* or ship's captain from Palembang, and another concerning Jayengésvara, or Jayésvara, a prince of Champa. These are perhaps echoes of the *Jatiswara* tradition. Then an account is given of a ruler of Majapahit who refused to become a Muslim, no doubt referable to the end of the fifteenth century. His brother settled at Kayangan (the abode of the gods) in Lombok, which suggests a mountain village on the slopes of the holy Gunung Renjani. Other settlements are described, including Salut, inland from the north coast; Pejanggiq, the predecessor of Praya, southeast of that place; and Barenga. There are accounts of a royal cremation, of marriages and dances. Lombok was raided by the king of Pajang in Java, and many Sasak nobles were killed. If this refers to an historical event, it must have taken place in the latter half of the sixteenth century, when Pajang had replaced Demak as the leading power in Java, and before the establishment of the Sultanate of Mataram. The text concludes with a reference to Ratu Mas Aji Gentawang, as the ruler of Sélaparang of the time. This manuscript was copied at Pujut, one of the old villages south of Praya. Pigeaud compares it with KITLV manuscripts Or.324 and L.Or.325. The former consists of two copper plates, containing only the initial myth Ratna Déwi Sigrah (for Sita) and Betara Indra, who lived at Negara Suwung on a mountain, and had 22 sons and 22 daughters. The latter consists of two manuscripts, each of eight cantos, of which the first is in Javanese, with a text similar to the plates, and then continues in Sasak. Cederroth (1981:32) says 'According to one of the versions (of the *Babad*

Lombok) Islam entered Lombok by way of the Bayan kingdom, where the well-known culture hero, Sunan Giri, started to teach the new religion in 1545'. This may perhaps have some link with the Pajang raid.

The second type of *Babad Lombok* could be called *Babad Lombok Adam*, as most of the manuscripts of this tradition begin with an account of creation mentioning Adam and his successors as related in the *Anbiya* texts. The manuscripts vary considerably in length and in the order of particular episodes. Those best described include the transliteration of a palm-leaf manuscript made in 1972 and now in the Mataram Museum (no catalogue number); L.Or.6621 from the Hazeu collection; and Teeuw 6, a transliterated copy of National Library, Jakarta, KBG Cod. 295. The Mataram text is in 324 stanzas. After the death of Adam, devils seduced the people into worshipping him in temples and prayer-houses, with feasts of pork, dog's flesh, rice wine and rice beer. This teaching was later called *Wratasari* (Sanskrit *vrata* = asceticism, a term often associated with Tantric Buddhism), and was brought to Lombok by Pendéta Gurundeh from Buda Keling in Karangasem near Amlapura. Later, in the time of Noah, some people of the land of Talpaman were disobedient to his teaching, and were attacked by Amir Hamzah of the land of Mecca. (This is a vague reference to the Talasmad War, see *Ménak Talasmad*, B.23.) The people of Talpaman fled to Lombok, where they attacked the village of Laèq, whose inhabitants in turn ran away and established a new village, which they called Pamotan. They chose an intelligent and forceful man to become king, and provided him with a dwelling, fine clothes, a horse and weapons.

There was an eruption of Gunung Renjani which lasted for seven days, and caused great destruction. Tens of thousands of people perished, and those who escaped took refuge on hilltops, and when calm returned, they built a new village called Jerowaru. In the fourteenth century, two sons of the ruler of Majapahit came to Lombok; the elder founded the kingdom of Lombok, and the younger established Bayan. Next follows the tragic story of Lala Saruni, the beautiful wife of Sandubaya of Sélaparang. The king of Lombok, Kertajaya, fell madly in love with Lala Saruni, and by trickery brought about the death of her husband while he was hunting in the woods of Gebong. Lala Saruni was carried by a strange shell to the middle of the sea to join the spirit of her husband, and the king, following her, tripped on a rock and met his death. The elder brother of Sandubaya, Demang Brang Bantun went to war with the ruler of Lombok, Prabhu Rengkasari. The account includes a tale of the animals and sweetmeats as weapons to avoid injury to the participants.

The *babad* now tells how preachers of Islam under the leadership of Sunan Prapèn went to the Lesser Sunda Islands, accompanied by the *patih* of Madura, Mataram and Tuban, and the *tumenggung* of Semarang and Sura-

baya. Sunan Prapèn was said to be the son of Sunan Giri, and died at Giri (Gresik) in 1591 AD. At this time the centre of the kingdom was at Sélaparang. The text closes with an account of the kingdom of Pejanggiq and its ruler, Wirocandra. He had a young minister called Banjar Getas, who imprudently used all kinds of tricks, so that Pejanggiq fell to the power of the Balinese. Thereafter, in spite of the struggle and sacrifices of the king and people of Sélaparang, this state was also forced to surrender to the Balinese ruler, Raja Karangasem Lombok.

L.Or.6621, from the collection of G.A.J. Hazeu is a palm-leaf manuscript of 132 folios in 15 cantos and 932 stanzas, and treats several of the episodes similarly to the Mataram text. It begins with *Anbiya* tales of Adam, Idris, Noah and the flood; then the false religion of the worship of Adam, called *agama kapir Wratasani*. Noah had four daughters who married the makers of the Ark after the Flood. A settlement was made at Laèq in Lombok, rice and cotton were cultivated, and a king elected. Then comes the episode of Ménak Amir Hamzah and the Talasmad War. Garada, an Indian teacher, brought the Wratasani religion to Java, and converted the king of Majapahit, who sent his four sons to other islands, which were converted and subjected to Majapahit. After a disastrous eruption of Renjani, the capital, Pamotan, was ruined, but rebuilt. Next follows the story of Lala Saruni, the death of Sandubaya and the war of revenge by his brother, Brang Bantun.

This manuscript gives a circumstantial account of the missionary tour of Pangéran Prapèn, the son of Sunan Giri, who came from Giri to Sugian, a coastal village on the extreme northeast of Lombok to begin his work on the island, while his companions went to Banjarmasin, Makassar and the Moluccas to spread Islam there. Sunan Prapèn attempted to convert the Sasak by force, and then went on to Sumbawa and Bima to spread Islam there. While Sunan Prapèn was away, the Sasak women continued to profess their old faith, and their menfolk largely abandoned Islam. On his return to Lombok Sunan Prapèn organized a new campaign of conversion, assisted by the Radèns of Sembelia (near Sugian) and Salut, this time with success. Some of the people fled to the mountains, some were converted and others only subjected. Sunan Prapèn then went on to Bali, where he tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with the Déwa Agung of Klungkung for the conversion of that island.

Teeuw 6 is a typed transliteration of Jakarta manuscript KBG Codex 395, and has 22 cantos and 1225 stanzas. The original is dated Saka 1783 (AD 1861). Much of the content is similar to the previous two manuscripts. It begins with *Anbiya* stories of Adam and Noah, leading up to the first settlement of Lombok, the story of Lala Saruni, Sandubaya and Brang Bantun and later internal affairs, up to canto 15. After this there is a new invocation, and the story proceeds with the campaign of the Susuhunan of Giri to convert the

eastern Islands to Islam. The manuscript ends with an account of the traitor, Banjar Getas, and the subjugation of the Sasak by the Balinese. Other manuscripts of similar type include Engelenberg E.41, which begins with Nabi Idris and concludes with the emigration of Datu Semang to Sudimara; L.Or.6442, which is a paper codex with extracts from L.Or.6621; BCB Portfolio 41 A(2) (see Pigeaud 1968, II:796), a romanized handwritten copy of the *Babad Lombok* of a manuscript in Rotterdam; and the Amsterdam manuscript AdKIT A 4852 (Pigeaud 1968, II:847), which begins with *Anbiya* tales of Adam and Noah, and includes references to the conversion to Islam of Madura, Lombok and Sumbawa, and the later conflicts between the Sasak and Balinese; this is a palm-leaf manuscript of 164 folios.

Another text is usually known as *Babad Lombok Sandubaya*. At least three copies are registered in the collections, Engelenberg E.48, Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja K.427 (with copies in Leiden), and Teeuw 8. E.48 begins with *Anbiya* tales of Noah entering the Ark and bringing the animals with him, continues with the story of Sandubaya and Lala Saruni, and concludes with apparently unrelated Muslim eschatological tales, including the Imam Mahdi's confrontation with Dajal, the Antichrist. This is a palm-leaf manuscript of 61 folios. K.427, of which L.Or.11,153 is a romanized copy, is a palm-leaf manuscript of 37 folios, of which the main poem has 16 cantos and 294 stanzas, beginning with an account of creation by Indra and Sita, the populating of Lombok, the story of Sandubaya and Lala Saruni, and the sequel of the wars of Brang Bantun. Appended is a Sasak genealogy and three short Muslim Javanese religious texts. Teeuw 8 is a romanized transcript of a palm-leaf manuscript of 64 folios, with 13 cantos and 312 stanzas, from Kelayu, near Selong in East Lombok. This text starts early on with the story of Sandubaya. The final three cantos contain Muslim eschatological texts, with references to the Day of Judgement, the Prophet Khidr, Dajal (the Antichrist) and his struggle with the Imam Mahdi, as well as Jesus, and Gog and Magog.

The Javanese *Babad Sélaparang* would be better known as *Babad Sélaparang Banjar Getas*, to distinguish it from the Sasak *babad*. The present item is known from three manuscripts in the collections. Mataram Museum has a romanized transcript of a manuscript of unknown provenance: it has 678 stanzas. The ruler of Sélaparang, Prabu Kertabumi, had a minister, Arya Sudarsana, who was also known as Banjar Getas. He dwelt at Perigi with a hundred members of his family. He was described as *biang keladi*, a trouble-maker, and was dismissed because of the jealousy of the king. He fled to Barenga and thence to Pena, and eventually gained the confidence of the ruler of Pejanggiq. Datu Sélaparang requested his fellow-ruler to surrender Banjar Getas for judgement. Datu Pejanggiq married the daughters of various nobles (*demung*) and so fell out of favour with his master. On a visit to Karangasem in Bali, Banjar Getas agreed with his friend I Gusti Bagus Alit to attack Pejanggiq,

and war ensued with varied fortunes. In the end, the Datu of Pejanggiq was defeated and fled to Taliwang in Sumbawa. Banjar Getas and I Gusti Bagus Alit now prepared to attack Sélaparang, and assembled their forces at Mata-ram and Sweta. At first, Sélaparang was successful in resisting the attacks, but in the end was forced to surrender.

Teeuw 7 is a typed romanized transliteration of 'an unknown manuscript numbered 576/5, made for Dr Teeuw in 1950' according to Pigeaud (1968, II:820). It seems probable that this manuscript is the whole, or part of Jakarta Ms. Brandes 576, *Uug Karang Asem*. The original was a *lontar* of 72 folios, and is in 13 cantos and 306 stanzas. The first seven stanzas are in Sasak, the rest of the text in Javanese. The story follows the Mataram text, introducing the ruler of Sélaparang in Canto 2, the marriage quarrel in Pejanggiq in canto 9, but the manuscript breaks off before the end of the campaign against Sélaparang. Engelenberg manuscript E.36 is described as relating the journey of Banjar Getas to Klungkung at the behest of Datu Pejanggiq.

In the Gedong Kirtya, there is a romanized typed transcript headed *Babad Sasak*, 'Afschrift Pustaka Jatiswara, van het deel dat *Babad Sasak* genoemd wordt' (K.10,547 = L.Or.10,391). The original was Jakarta KBG *lontar* 90, of 23 folios, with 5 cantos and 71 stanzas. Canto 1 is in Sasak, the rest in Javanese. Another copy in Jakarta was made for Controleur Christan of West Lombok in 1924, which is a romanized transcription with a parallel Malay translation. It does not seem to have any real connection with the *Jatiswara*, except perhaps in the spirit of the writing. It purports to give an account of the history of the introduction of Islam into Lombok, which however is completely different from what is to be found in the various *Babad Lombok*.

The content of the *Babad Sasak* is as follows. After the writer's apology in Sasak, the substance of the text proceeds in Javanese. A certain Pangéran Sangupati came to teach Islam in Lombok, at the time of famine, and helped to restore good conditions, which commended Islam to the people. The Datu of Sélaparang said the Sasak were afraid of the Balinese, who followed the custom of Majapahit. The Datu asked help from the Pangéran against an impending attack by the Balinese, but he left Lombok, flying through the air. The Datu was sad at his departure, but the Pangéran left his two sons, Nurcahya and Nursada: the former followed the Waktu Lima, orthodox Islam, while the latter preferred the Waktu Telu, which was syncretistic and amenable to the preservation of old customs, which was better suited to the Sasak and prospered in Lombok. The Waktu Lima is stricter, following the way of the Prophets, and is supported by the Malays, so that all Nusantara follows it; but the people of Lombok cannot accept it, as it is too demanding. The Pangéran Sangupati was a promoter of the Waktu Lima, which is the way of the Arabs, who do not favour mysticism, but turn to the Ka'abah, and carry the Qur'an.

Pangéran Sangupati, Nurcahya and Nursada are the subjects of other, more substantial stories in Javanese about the spread of Islam in Lombok. K.10,087 is a romanized transliteration of a palm-leaf manuscript of 19 folios, with 10 cantos and 149 stanzas, acquired by the Gedong Kirtya from Selong, East Lombok in 1940. It opens with a description of various types of Islam, from Java; from Kudus, also called Kampung, and from the Arabs of Sumbawa, apparently reflecting the various countries from which the religion was introduced into Lombok. The four orthodox imams are noted, and also Sufi practice, with its terms *tariqat*, *haqiqat*, *ma'rifat*, the festivals of the Muslim year, the prophets, ritual prayer (*salat*), and the doctrine of *niyat*, intention. This was the faith promoted by Pangéran Sangupati.

The story of Nurcahya and Nursada is found in many manuscripts from Lombok. For a type we may take *Nursada* (K 10,093 = L.Or.10,343). The original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 13 folios, with 6 cantos and 101 stanzas. This tale is of a man called Said Mu'min, who had two sons. After he had read the Qur'an, he named them Nurcahya and Nursada. Nurcahya followed the Waktu Lima, but never had any happiness; however, Nursada, who followed the Waktu Telu, never suffered any want, and was always blessed. Nurcahya had inscribed copper plates, which he cast into the sea; after that, he approached his younger brother and also entered the way of the Waktu Telu. Now the copper plates were picked up by a Malay, who took them to his village. Hence it ensued that the Malays followed the Waktu Lima, but the people of Lombok from the beginning followed the Waktu Telu. This tale sounds distinctly like a Waktu Telu sermon rather than an historical account.

6. Prose works

Javanese prose works of Sasak provenance can be dealt with summarily, because they are all either technical manuals of one kind or another, or else legal documents. They are however witnesses to the importance of the Javanese language in Sasak society, not only in the fields of religion and literature but also in practical matters, and in dealings with government. Furthermore, the documents in many cases have to do with villages and their boundaries, and with genealogies of local families. Hence their study will be needed for the purposes of historical research. Some of the material of this kind is to be found in the collections of L.C. Heyting, who was Controleur of Central Lombok before the Second World War, and cooperated with the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja at the time of its establishment in 1928, and also presented some of his manuscripts to the Leiden University Library in 1965, L.Or.11,022-5, L.Or.11,060 and L.Or.11,075. There are also a few items in the Lombok (Cakranegara Palace) collection in Leiden and the Engelenberg collection in Jakarta, and some later items collected by the Gedong Kirtya.

Salasilah asal-usul Sang Prabu Tunggul Ametung, of Nyanggi (K.67 = K.10,067 = L.Or.14,815 = Teeuw 10) is a genealogy of a family of Nyanggi, from a descendant of Sang Prabu Tunggul of Majapahit, who is said to have emigrated to Lombok and was for a time *patih* of the Datu of Sélaparang before he settled at Nyanggi. *Piagem Batu Tulis*, K.10,108 is a genealogy beginning with Susuhunan Ratu of Giri in East Java, down to chiefs of Bayan, Silo and Langko, and is apparently of Praya provenance. Another copy is included in Heyting manuscript L.Or.11,075(3), where it is registered as *Pamancangah Silo*. A collection of documents at L.Or.11,075(6) is registered as *Asal-usul Désa Marajaguna Sélaparang*, which constituted evidence in a case in 1917 and includes documents in Sasak and Javanese, one a copper plate with a Javanese mentioning Pelambiq, and is accompanied by Malay translations and correspondence between Heyting and Goris. *Tatwa Sawang-suwung*, L.Or.5051 is a version of the origins of the Kalang people as known in Lombok.

Pawatesan désa Pelambeq is a land register with boundaries of the village of Pelambeq, Central Lombok. There are several copies, probably reflecting some past litigation, at K.70 (L.Or.10,297), K.10,070, K.10,109. *Pangéling-éling wawatesan paèr Mangkung-Kateng* (K.10,041 = L.Or.10,326) is a collection of five documents relating to village lands and boundaries of Mangkung and adjacent villages in the southern part of Central Lombok, and includes copies of items dated the equivalent of 1410, 1700, 1771 and 1847 AD.

L.Or.11,023 *Piagem Ratu Saji Batu Dèndèng* is a palm-leaf manuscript, with a romanized transliteration at L.Or.11,075(2), and a genealogy of an important local family from a village near Kopang in Central Lombok. *Piagem Rang-gagata* (K.66 = L.Or.14,814) is a genealogy of a family from the village of Rang-gagata near Pelambiq in the southwest part of Central Lombok, tracing its origin to Majapahit through an ancestor called Susuhunan Panji Sari. *Paèr désa Amor-Amor* (K.582 = L.Or.14,839) gives the boundaries of Amor-Amor on the north coast, in the West Lombok district, drawn up in 1900 AD. Engelenberg E.192, *Pembayun* is the evidence of a man who was appointed as a go-between in a marriage settlement, and is recorded in Javanese, Sasak and Balinese.

There are a few legal codes in the collections. *Kotaragama*, L.Or.14,071 was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 80 folios, found by Professor Koesnoe in Lombok in 1970. The Leiden University Library has a microfilm, actual size photographs of the palm leaves, and a romanized transliteration by J. Soegiarto. After the *bismillah*, it begins with an invocation of King Surya Alam. Bernard Vlekke (1945:135) assigns this to Sultan Agung of Mataram, Java, 1613-1645. He says:

'The *Suria Alam*, a Javanese code which was composed at this time, presents a mixture of Indonesian and Muhammadan law. Agung's judicial reforms were maintained in substance by the decrees of the East Indian Company when it took over the sovereignty of the larger part of the Island of Java.'

The text contains some legal maxims called *seloka*. The content, summarized by Pigeaud in a note with the manuscript is as follows: f.1: The role of the king; the relationship of the righteous king with his subjects; f.10: cases (*padu*), and witnesses (*saksi*) in general; f.20: *seloka* relating to forty cases; f.25: the judge (*karta, jaksa*) and the king (*ratu*); handling of lawsuits; f.33: summing up of offences, with descriptions and amount of fines, in multiples of 1,000 Chinese cash. The end is defective. F.40 lists law books belonging to the Pasisir culture: *Surya Alam, Raja Niti, Raja Kapa-kapa*. Mataram Museum Ms. 1050 is another copy, of 50 folios, *lontar*, extensively described and quoted in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:24-5, 82-90, 105-20, 125-32, 154-5). K.10,550, *Kontara Sesait* is a local law code from Sesait, on the northwest coast, West Lombok, which begins by saying that the code derives from Bayan. It also has references to Sélaparang and Pejanggiq. It speaks of the duties of *pandé, jaksa, pandita* and *ratu*, and ends with penalties for incest (*bero*), and an appeal to the authority of a code called *Kontara Dalem*. Two manuscripts from Singaraja, Bali, contain texts of *Pamastu cara Sasak* (L.Or.13,342 and L.Or.13,343), that is the formulas for oaths according to Sasak usage. The former includes the *sumpah ageng*, which is quoted in the text; the latter contains the *sumpah alit*.

Javanese medical works current among the Sasak include L.Or.13,432, *Wisada (Usada) Sasak*, a text partly in Javanese and partly in Balinese, from Krambitan, Tabanan, Bali, a compilation of medicines, mantras and *raja* or diagrams, and including a ceremony for a child a few days old. It is not clear precisely what the Sasak connection is. Other medical texts are combined with *wariga*, which are concerned with the calendar, astrology and divination. The 1928 list, L.Or.11,075(4) mentions 14 copies of the *Kabar Sundari*. These are probably similar to Engelenberg E.28 *Sundari bungkah dan pasatoan*, which is described as a manual beginning with medical recipes following Balinese custom, means of divining good and bad days for working, for moving house or building a new one. Another version of this is *Bungkah ing Sundari terus*, L.Or.5067, from the Lombok (Cakranegara Palace) collection (Pigeaud 1968, II:260; Juynboll 1911:224) and L.Or.3896(b) (Juynboll 1911:223). Engelenberg Ms. E.31 is entitled *Tenung*, that is a numerological work of divination, used for counting items from the day of their loss, and means of their recovery. E.45, *Paringkelan* is a manual for calculating days and months which are lucky or inauspicious for building a house, moving house or celebrating a wedding; so also E.49 *Wariga paringkelan* E.61, *Tulak bala* contains prayers for repelling sickness and appropriate offerings to appease the malignant spirits. L.Or.5161, from the Lombok collection is a book of Muslim divination including *usada* or medical recipes, magic incantations, and mentions the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslim New Year. It is a palm-leaf manuscript of 21 folios, with a colophon dated Saka 1778 = 1856 AD. The

Lombok collection contains several other short Muslim Javanese texts which are collections of mantras or incantations and the like, in which Muslim personages are invoked, and include such subjects as mantras to ensure success in hunting and shooting. Such are L.Or.5205, L.Or.5206, L.Or.5257, L.Or.5315(b), L.Or.5328 (which includes formulas for Muslim medicine), and L.Or.5435, a mixture of small pieces of palm-leaf, which includes a mantra for shooting and names of Sasak men and women and rations of rice allotted to them.

Javanese prose texts of Muslim content from Lombok include K.10,301, part of a Qur'an commentary, and Teeuw 12 (see Pigeaud 1968, II:821), which includes notes on Muslim theology and divination, and references to the months of the Muslim year, including some parts in verse. Javanese prose texts relating to the Sasak shadow play include K.10,548, *Kalampan Balunan Ambara*, a summary of a branch tale from the *Amir Hamzah* cycle, and Engelenberg ms. E.65 *Paparikan dalang* containing texts for the opening ceremony of a *wayang* performance (see above under section II.2, and compare the text given by Laloe Djaja (1957:10-2)).

CHAPTER III

Sasak literature

1. Panji poems

The adventures of Prince Panji have a place both in the political mythology and in the popular literature of the Sasak. Two important Sasak villages in West Lombok are named Kediri and Koripan, while the title Mas Panji was sometimes used by Sasak. We have seen how the *wayang gedog* of East Java, whose principal repertoire is the cycle of Panji tales, was adopted by the Sasak, and then in Muslim times, probably from the seventeenth century, adapted for the playing of Amir Hamzah tales, which in general structure and content have themselves much in common with the Panji stories. It seems likely too that some of the Panji tales in Javanese in *macapat* metres were at one time current among the Sasak. Engelenberg manuscript E.27, *Klana Jaya*, from Lombok, is a palm-leaf of 24 folios, identified by Poerbatjaraka (1933:305), as *Jayalangkara*, in which the Princess Candrakirana adopted male attire and was made King of Bali, but was vanquished by Jayakusuma. Gedong Kirtya K.2327 (= L.Or.10,253) is a palm-leaf manuscript of 379 folios from Lombok, containing a version of *Panji Semirang*, in which Princess Candrakirana also adopted male attire, first as Panji, and then as a *gambuh* dancer, Wargasmara. *Dangdang Ireng*, the Black Crow, is a palm-leaf manuscript of 27 folios, and 5 cantos from the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3818. This tells how Candrakirana, Princess of Kadiri, by means of a white tiger and a black crow, was brought to the presence of the sun-god. After living seven years with him, he let her go back to earth, to marry Panji, the Prince of Koripan. This work has traces of Muslim, Balinese and Sasak words (for instance, *kerongkong*, Sas. = a hollow in a rock). While the provenances, and relationship of these texts to the Balinese and Sasak communities of Lombok are not certain, it is possible that they represent the remains of a *wayang gedog* cycle from Lombok.

From such evidence as we have, the writing of the Sasak language for poetical compositions began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Most of the forms and conventions employed were taken over from Javanese, including the use of *macapat* verse, with the six favourite metres of *asmarandana*, *dangdang gula*, *durma*, *mas kumambang*, *pangkur* and *sinom*; choice and pre-

sentation of subject matter; and borrowings from the Javanese vocabulary. Nevertheless, some new features appeared, including a somewhat free handling of the metres, and the expression of Sasak sentiment. There are two poems in Sasak which are versions of Panji stories, *Cilinaya*, and *Mégantaka*, and a third, which though more modern and original, preserves the general character of this genre: the *Tutur Monyèh*.

The poem *Cilinaya*, also known as *Datu Daha* and *Megatsih* is represented by both Javanese and Sasak versions. Van der Tuuk, writing of a single *lontar* of the Javanese version (L.Or.4587) said that it was written under Muslim influence, and contained some Sasak words, as well as stanzas in Malay. The story closely resembles the Malay *Syair Ken Tambuhan* and the Javanese *Panji Angrèni*. The Sasak version became popular at the end of the nineteenth century. J.C. van Eerde (1913) published a romanized edition from a palm-leaf manuscript kept in the Divisional Library in Lombok. This is in 6 cantos and 248 stanzas. There are two *lontar* in the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3593, originally of 100 folios now incomplete, but significant, because he made a romanized transliteration for his own study, L.Or.4189. This is in 8 cantos and contains the earlier part of the story; and L.Or.3765, in 51 folios, 7 cantos. Another manuscript of this text is Engelenberg E.154, entitled *Bibi Cili*. In list, L.Or.11,075/4 (1928), five copies are mentioned. In the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, K.10,004, entitled *Datu Daha*, is a palm-leaf of 87 folios with 12 cantos and 380 stanzas, and K.10,101, another palm-leaf, has 16 cantos and 363 stanzas. The Mataram Museum has at least four copies. Ms.3005 is a palm-leaf of 134 folios extensively summarized in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:29-31, while the Museum *Katalog naskah lontar* of the 1977-78 collection has three more. A romanized text was edited and published by Lalu Wacana by the Department of Education and Culture Project (Wacana 1979c). The summary which follows is of K.10,004, based upon the Sasak epitome in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552. The original was from Selong, East Lombok.

The king of Daha had a daughter who was carried away by the west wind. She landed in a garden, where she was found by Inaq Bangkol, who called her La Kencili. The son of the king of Keling dreamt that the moon had fallen into his lap. He went hunting, found La Kencili and brought her home. The king did not know her identity, and was not happy with his son's choice. La Kencili bore a son. The king fell sick, and ordered his son to catch a white deer as a remedy. While he was away, the king ordered Den 'Dipati and Pé Tuwèk to get rid of the princess at Tanjung Menangis. When the prince returned and heard that his wife was dead, he went to Tanjung Menangis and threw himself on her corpse.

The prince now adopted the name of Radèn Megatsih. He placed his wife's body in a coffin and cast it away into the sea, while he himself stayed by the shore, praying to Betara Guru to restore his wife to life. The king of

Daha, grieving for his lost daughter, saw a white crow alight on the coffin, which was bobbing on the waves. When he opened it, he found his daughter alive. He arranged a feast, and invited all the neighbouring kings and his own relations. Even the king of Keling came, and when he heard the story, he said he wanted the princess to be married to his son, and made all the arrangements for the wedding to be performed again. After the feast, the bride and groom returned with him to the country of Keling.

Mégantaka is also known as *Menteri Melaka* and *Nusantara*. There is a Balinese version edited by Van Eck (1875), who thought that the source was a Muslim Malay story, or, as the introduction to that version suggests, one brought by Bugis seafarers. In Van der Tuuk's view, however (Brandes 1901-26, II:171), the Balinese version was composed in Ampenan, Lombok, under Muslim influence, and contains several Arabic words. The evidence for the Sasak version, however is later. K.10,033 was acquired for the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, by Roelof Goris, on a visit to Selong, East Lombok in 1936, and thus it is of the same time and provenance as the K.10,004 *Cilinaya*. There are transcripts in KITLV Or.508, and also L.Or.10,325. The original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 147 folios with 17 cantos and 567 stanzas. K.10,048 (= L.Or.10,327), is entitled *Nusantara* and was obtained from the District Library, Singaraja and transcribed in 1941; the original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 246 folios with 12 cantos and 578 stanzas. The Mataram Museum has a copy, a palm-leaf of 133 folios no. T.232/V.II/91. The following summary is based upon that of K.10,033, given in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552.

Datu Nusantara had unlike twins, a son, Panji Mas Tilarnegara, and a daughter, Puteri Mas Ambarasari. The birth of unlike twins was a misfortune which brought sickness to the land, so the princess was exiled to the island of Gili Ratna. The son of Datu Ambaramadya was Panji Mas Ambarapati: he went sailing with friends and came to Gili Ratna. Here he met the princess, fell in love with her and took her with him. However, their ship was wrecked in a storm; both survived, but they were separated, landing on different parts of the coast of Melaka. The princess was found by Mégantaka, prince of Melaka; he wanted to marry her, but she refused, hoping that Ambarapati had survived. Ambarapati reached the court of Melaka, and was befriended by Mégantaka, but when he heard that the princess was there, they arranged to slip away and sailed to Ambaramadya. His father was glad to see him, but had already arranged a marriage for him with Princess Denda Garpung. She compassed the death of Puteri Mas Ambarasari.

Now when Mégantaka heard of the abduction of the princess, he attacked Nusantara. Panji Mas Ambarapati was captured and held in a pit. Panji Mas Tilarnegara now came to the rescue. He was helped by the princess of the Jinn of Jabal Kap, called Lala Sekar Kencana. In the end, Panji Mas Ambarapati, with the help of his brother-in-law, defeated Mégantaka. Puteri Mas

Ambarasari in heaven, was brought back to earth and reunited with Panji Mas Ambarapati.

Monyèh is a romantic poem by Jero Mihram, who towards the end of the nineteenth century was headman of the village of Pancor, now a suburb of Selong in East Lombok. This is said to be the best-loved poem in Sasak, and is the tale of a prince who sought for his princess while he was disguised as a monkey. The theme is a variant of the Cinderella story, and is also closely related to the Panji tales. In later life, Jero Mihram became a pious man who was ashamed to have allowed himself to be the cause of leading his compatriots astray by their reading and reciting his romance. This change of heart may reflect that Pancor had become an important Muslim centre. Probably what we have to do with here is the growing influence of the Waktu Lima, who denounced much of the culture and entertainments of the Waktu Telu as being worldly. The *Monyèh* was popular as an erotic tale, which was publicly performed by singers with accompanying music.

J.C. van Eerde edited the text from Rotterdam, Museum voor Volkenkunde Ms. 6971, a palm-leaf, with the poem in 55 cantos, 732 stanzas. He noted that at nights while watching over the rice harvest, men would sing the strophes, while dancing girls would add their pantuns at performances of the *Monyèh*, and at other times the girls would hum the melodies while they were weaving. He went on:

'The author thought of his own surroundings as the land where the story took place, localized on the east coast of Lombok, which people would recognise; and the layout of the oriental palace he describes accorded with his own house. Above all, the characters speak and act entirely as people of Lombok. These things account for much of the value of this work.' (Van Eerde 1906:19.)

Tilman Seebass describes a performance of the *Monyèh* given at Jagaraga, near Kediri, West Lombok in 1972 by a famous group of *cepung* (*cekeprung*) singers, where the reciter of the text was accompanied by others who sang in imitation of *gamelan* instruments, somewhat like the style of Balinese *kecak* performers (Seebass et al. 1976:51-5). As far as manuscripts of the text are concerned, they vary as much as any of the older anonymous works, no doubt reflecting the tradition of a general freedom of performers to modify the content and presentation of the works. The great popularity of the *Monyèh* is indicated by the fact that in the 1928 list, L.Or.11,075/4, 28 copies are mentioned. Among those known from the collections, that of Engelenberg has two, E.133 and E.157, and another, E.143, which is described as *lelakaq* (pantuns) and sequel to the *Monyèh*. The Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, has two: K.10,030 (L.Or.10,324), a palm-leaf of 121 folios with 36 cantos and 573 stanzas, and K.10,075 (L.Or.10,335), with 62 cantos and 625 stanzas, as well as another small fragment. In the Mataram Museum, there are two *lon-*

tar, T.208/V.II/91 and T.226/V.II/91. The summary which follows is based upon the Rotterdam manuscript, in Van Eerde's edition.

The king of Indrapandita had nine daughters, of whom the youngest, Winangsiya, was the most beautiful, but she was hated by her sisters and kept in rags. She drew a picture of herself as a memorial should she die, but the west wind caught it up and carried it to the garden of Radèn Mas Witasari, prince of Layang Sari, who fell in love with her portrait, and set out by ship with his brother to find her. On the shore of Indrapandita, the brother sent word to the king, who came to the shore with his daughters to feast and to trade, but the young princess, Winangsiya or Dinda Widadarin, was too poor and ragged to go, so she borrowed money from her nurse to buy a monkey. Prince Witasari, observing his opportunity, with the help of a magic waistcoat, took the guise of a monkey and was bought by the princess. He called himself Loq Monyèh and declared that he was an ordinary monkey, only that he could talk like a man. The sisters of the princess became jealous and engineered her exile. Loq Monyèh accompanied her but did not reveal his true form.

Meanwhile, the king, her father, fell sick. His daughters said that if he recovered, they would celebrate this with a dance, and this came to pass. The sisters sent word to Winangsiya; only she would have to provide her own balldress. She pleaded inability to come, but having refused the royal command, orders were given for her to be put to death. Loq Monyèh came upon her intended executioners, who gave her till morning to comply with the command. Loq Monyèh brought fine clothes for her from his ship and, next morning, she prepared herself and set out in procession to the capital.

Loq Monyèh followed, and in the palace garden resumed his form as a handsome prince, and was invited to the ball, but no one knew who he was. The same happened the next night, but when the princess returned to her place, she could not find the monkey, only the magic waistcoat, which she folded and put away. Loq Monyèh came back later in his princely form, revealed his identity to the princess and asked her to marry him. Preparations for the marriage were made. The princess threw the magic waistcoat into the fire and, in its place, a beautiful palace appeared and the betrothal was made amid great celebrations. They then proceeded to her father's capital, and the royal wedding was solemnized with great pomp. The bridal pair were supremely happy, but her sisters were consumed with envy.

2. Other romantic poems

Among the romantic poems in Sasak, one of the best known is *Cupak*. The story is well known in Bali, where it probably originated, and where it is known both in a version in *tengahan* metres, and another in the *macapat*

metres *adri* and *ginada*. It is moreover performed in Bali, where according to De Zoete and Spies (1938:143-9) it is related in style both to *gambuh* and *arja*. The Sasak *Cupak* appears to be derivative, but has its own stylistic characteristics. The best known manuscripts are in five cantos in standard *macapat* metres and are the basis of a dramatic production in Bayan in northern Lombok (see Cederroth 1979). These include two *lontar* from the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3754, of 30 folios and L.Or.3759, of 24 folios. These are both *embat-embatan*, that is to say palm-leaves, untrimmed, with the rib remaining, and of various lengths up to 69 cm. Their text agrees fairly closely with that of Gedong Kirtya Ms. K.1343, while Mataram Museum Ms. 2118 is a palm-leaf of 95 folios. Another Gedong Kirtya manuscript is K.10,090 in 8 cantos. Other copies include Engelenberg Ms. E.153 and E.155, while K.10,319 is a folk-tale version in Sasak prose.

The story, as given in K.1343, in 5 cantos and 213 stanzas is as follows. The Datu of Doha had a daughter who was abducted by a *raksasa*, who brought her to a cave in the middle of a forest. The Datu made a proclamation that whoever should rescue her and kill the *raksasa* should marry the princess. The king's minister came upon two brothers, Cupak and Grantang, who were working in the forest, and they declared themselves ready to undertake the rescue. Grantang killed the giant and brought the princess out of the cave, but Cupak pelted him with rocks which covered him and left him in the cave. Cupak restored the princess to her father, claiming to have rescued her, and she was offered to him as his bride. Meanwhile, Grantang managed to free himself and get out of the cave by making a ladder of the giant's bones. He managed to reach the princess secretly and she sheltered him and repudiated Cupak. Then Grantang took the princess to her father and was able to convince him of the truth of the matter, she married Grantang and Cupak was banished.

Gedong Kirtya K.430, *Temelak Mangan*, is a fanciful tale about the origins of the Sasak chiefdoms. There is a version in the Mataram Museum, Ms. 64/NK/76, entitled *Doyan Nada*, a palm-leaf manuscript of 66 folios, and another version, rendered in Indonesian prose, edited by Sumardjo (1982) and published under the title *Datu Jayakusuma*, in which the hero is at first called Tekayun Nada. L.Or.3172, described by Pigeaud (1968, II:107) as a Panji romance of Klana Jayakusuma, conqueror of Bali, is perhaps related. This is summarized in Juynboll (1911:78) where at the beginning Gunung Sari, Bayan and Sanggit are mentioned, all names associated with Lombok.

K.430 is summarized in the *Picèndèk Sasak* as follows. Temelak Mangan (The Glutton), the son of a village headman, was descended from a jinn. Being so greedy, he was disapproved of by his father, so he left home and wandered in the forest where he met two ascetics, Temeng Muter and Sigar Penyalin, who joined him. In Sengkaroh, the cave of the *raksasa* Wilmana,

they found three princesses, Mas Putri Sari Kencana from Majapahit, Putri Andara Sasih from Java, and Ni Ketir from Madura and they married them. A ship from Majapahit arrived, looking for water. The officers desired to take the princesses and Temelak Mangan was willing to sell them for guns and cannon. When these were delivered he turned them on the captain, who surrendered himself and his ship. Temelak Mangan and his companions then sent envoys to Majapahit, Java and Madura for the rulers to make proper arrangements for their daughters, the princesses. Temelak Mangan became ruler of Sélaparang and took the name of Meraja Kusuma, and had a son, Poq Janggiq who lived at Pejanggiq. Temeng Muter became chief of Jerowaru and was called Arya Beringin and had a son, Ratu Langkung, who ruled at Langko. Sigar Penyalin became chief of Sembalun and had a son, whose name is not known, as he disappeared, but was later found in a clump of bamboo.

Raja Umum (K.10,073 = L.Or.10,333) is reported from a single manuscript, originally a *lontar* of 18 folios, with 6 cantos and 131 stanzas. This story opens in Palembang, where there was a wise man called Pandita Ayat who had four sons. One learnt astrology, another theft, a third bowmanship and the fourth pilotage. The four young men departed for another country where they met the king's minister who told them that the king's daughter, a virgin princess, was lost. The minister reported to the king that the young men were ready to go in search of the princess whose hand had been offered in marriage to whoever could find her. They set sail and came to an island where they found the princess and brought her back to the king. The astrologer had divined where the princess was, the thief sought out her place of concealment, the archer shot the *garuda* who had seized her, and the pilot saved the canoe when it was tossed in the sea. When they came into the king's presence each of the four brothers wanted to claim the princess for a bride, and each put his case at wearisome length. In the end, the king awarded her to the thief, because he had been the first actually to rescue her.

Balang Kesémbar (K.10,073) is known from a palm-leaf manuscript of 17 folios, collected in Selong in 1940. It is in 6 cantos and 126 stanzas. A few stanzas in cantos 5 and 6 are in Javanese and one is in Malay. There is also a Sasak-prose version, entitled *Loq Balang Kesumbar* (K.10,484), which was recorded by Loq Kamarudin of Jelantik, Central Lombok. There was a poor widow of Kampung Kopong who had a son called Balang Kesémbar (Sparkling Grasshopper), who was bad but clever, and skilled in painting. He painted a picture of a princess on the door of a Datu's residence. One day, the Datu came out and saw the picture, which resembled his daughter who had disappeared. Balang Kesémbar was sent out to find her, which he did in the palace of a Naga prince. He brought her back to her father and was given her in marriage, which was celebrated with fitting ceremony. A transliterated edition was edited by Lalu Wacana (1979b).

Dangkang (K.1345 = L.Or.10,299) was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 26 folios, with 13 cantos and 216 stanzas. There is another copy in the Engelenberg collection, E.145. This is the love story of Loq Selaka and Laq Sumanding, and comes from East Lombok. A youth called Loq Selaka fell in love with a girl, Laq Sumanding, also known as Laq Dangkang. She was prepared to marry him, but at the last moment she refused, as he was very poor. Because of his shame, Loq Selaka went away to become an ascetic, and through constant meditation and prayer, he gained the strength to reclaim Laq Sumanding. When he returned she was madly in love with him and happy to marry him.

Dedongèng Amaq Bokah (K.10,044), is the story of Amaq Bokah (Father Gourd), a village tale in Sasak verse about *tuba* fishing. The poem is in one canto, 36 stanzas, *asmarandana*. Amaq Bokah was a professional fisherman, who used the root of the *tuba* (*Derris elliptica*) to poison the water when fishing. The Datu enquired about his activities and then obtained *tuba* from Amaq Bokah for his own purposes in exchange for poultry.

Gagak Ngareng (The Crow Hatches), K.10,071 (L.Or.10,331) is a didactic poem in the form of village stories, in 5 cantos and 132 stanzas. It begins by giving advice that one should not think too highly of oneself. Then follow two episodes. The first tells how a crow was embroiled in a quarrel with a tiger about a *cemara* (Casuarina tree). The second tells how a village *jaksa*, the local scribe or registrar, came into conflict with Amaq Cunggig and other village elders. In the third canto there is a reference to the *Surya Alam* legal code.

3. Islamic romances

Of all the Amir Hamzah stories, the best loved in Lombok is that of the princess Déwi Rengganis and her romance with Repatmaja, also called Banjaransari, son of Amir Hamzah, and this is the one that has also been rendered into Sasak. There is a copy of the *Rengganis Sasak* in the Gedong Kirtya Singaraja, K.10,303, in 13 cantos and 303 stanzas, and another in the Engelenberg collection, E.141. In the Museum Nusa Tenggara Barat, Mataram, there is a palm-leaf manuscript, Ms. 1795, of 79 folios, between a pair of binding boards decorated with flower patterns, from Kuku, Sayang-sayang, about two miles north of Cakranegara. In 1979, a romanized transliteration, together with an Indonesian translation by Lalu Gdé Suparman was published by the Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Mataram. This text has 20 cantos and 518 stanzas and may perhaps be founded on Mataram Ms. 1795. The transliterated text is also described and excerpted in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:33-5). Introducing this edition, Lalu Wacana says that in former times in Lombok the *Rengganis* was regarded not only as a romantic but

also as a philosophical story, popular with people of all ages, and that the edition was intended to revive this place for the work, which could provide a pattern for outlook and behaviour and national consciousness. In the summary in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:33-5) the chief attention is given to the introductory story of the Raja Jaminéran who lived a widower and ascetic on Gunung Argapura in Eastern Java, with his beautiful daughter, Rengganis, who refrained from eating rice, and lived on the nectar of flowers and gained mystical powers, like a butterfly. One day, she came into the garden of Repatmaja, the son of Amir Hamzah. When Repatmaja saw her bathing there he fell madly in love with her.

The following parts of the *Rengganis Sasak* tell how Rengganis would only consent to becoming Repatmaja's wife if he first married Kadar Manik, princess of Mukadam, betrothed against her will to Raden Irman, son of Nursiwan. In the struggle for Mukadam, Widaninggar, princess of China, and Dewi Kuraisin, the jinn princess of Ajerak, were also involved. The story in the Sasak version follows the main outline of the *Rengganis* in Javanese (compare K.10,010), but is less extended. In the Sasak, Mekah and Medain and other Middle Eastern places have their part, as well as the familiar characters from the Amir Hamzah tales: Umar Maya, Baktak, Maktal, Taptanus, and Raja Selandir. However there are also allusions to Java and Bali, and to many places of Lombok, including in the first canto Pujut and Katèng in Central Lombok, and Apitaiq, Sembalun, Pringgabaya, Mamben and Lénék in East Lombok, this localizing character being a well-known feature in Indonesian literatures.

Indarjaya was a very popular text based upon a widespread Malay story, *Hikayat Syahi Mardan*, which is described at length by Winstedt (1939:55-6, 195-9). The Van der Tuuk collection in Leiden has three palm-leaf manuscripts, L.Or.3706, L.Or.3707 and L.Or.3834. L.Or.3707 has 53 folios and is in 6 cantos and according to Juynboll (1912:195) closely follows the Malay version. L.Or.4240 is a romanized version in Van der Tuuk's own hand, based on the three *lontar*. There are three manuscripts in the Gedong Kirtya collection, K.10,012, K.10,074 and K.10,095. Of these, the longest, K.10,074 (L.Or.10,334), was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 74 folios and has 10 cantos and 585 stanzas. Besides the romantic and fantastic elements in the story, it also introduces some teaching of old-style Islamic mysticism.

The following summary is based on K.10,074 as given in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552. In Arabia there was a ruler, Ratu Wijaya, who had a son, Said Merdan, whom he sent for instruction to a great *pandit*, who among other things taught him the language of the birds. One day, while wandering in the forest, Said Merdan met Princess Komala, the daughter of Daruljim. She had been abducted by a *raksasa*. Said Merdan and the princess made themselves into parakeets as Indarjaya and Siti Dewi. She had a son, Indardéwa, and

then a daughter. Indarjaya climbed a mountain and found the abode of Sèh Salamadin, who gave him instruction on the ways of Islam. Later he met Sèh Lukman ul-Hakim (who is mentioned in the Qur'an, Surah 31, vv. 11-19 as a teacher of wisdom), and Indarjaya studied with him. On his way back, he met an angel with four jinn, who later came to help Indarjaya whenever he was in trouble. With the princess he came to a village, and when frightened by a *garuda*, hid under a gong. He called upon the jinn to kill the *garuda*, and on their way to see Indarjaya's first instructor, Brahmana Sakti, they were seized by another *garuda* who carried them off to the land of Darulkiam, whose ruler had a beautiful daughter, who was dumb before suitors. Her father promised her to whoever could make her speak and Indarjaya succeeded in this. Indarjaya went home taking his new wife. On the way he revived a dead *garuda*, who flew up to the branches of a jujube tree and shook down the fruit for the princess. Brahmana Sakti, who had accompanied them, abducted the princess, but with the help of Indarjaya's father's minister, she challenged Brahmana Sakti to a fight with rams. Her ram won. Brahmana Sakti was himself turned into a ram, and Indarjaya reappeared. Then he was attacked by enemies and was almost defeated when his son, Indardewa, came to help him and the enemy was overcome. All the people came out to welcome Said Merdan Indarjaya and his wife, the Princess Komala and all the elders supported them.

Sesigar (The Half-one) is the story of a deformed man of divine birth, who visited heaven and hell and was then restored to wholeness. There are widely differing forms of this tale in Indonesia. The Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja manuscript K.10,056, is a poem in four cantos described in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552. One day the archangel Gabriel came to a woman at a bathing-place, and she became pregnant through God. She had a son, who was born with only one hand and one foot, so he was called Sesigar, the Half-one. As soon as he was born he was able to walk and talk with his mother. He wanted to play with his friends but they ran away. So he felt ashamed and wanted to die, and his mother ceased to love him. One night, when Sesigar came out, he was caught up into the heavens, and after this he was taken down to hell, and saw how men were punished there. The people in hell who were being tormented asked Sesigar to help them by begging God's forgiveness and he expressed his willingness to petition on their behalf. Sesigar went up to heaven and was amazed with what he saw. God commanded Sesigar to come to his presence, but when he did so, he was unable to speak. However, when God learnt of Sesigar's mission, he was bountifully received. Sesigar told how he could not help being amazed at all he had seen of God's creation, both bad and good. Then God said: 'Explain the sins of every man who has been punished in hell, how they transgressed the divine law while they were still in the world'. Sesigar's name was changed to Jayèngswarga. He was

commanded to return to the earth, to be restored to a natural form, and to show devotion to his mother and his foster-father. There is another manuscript at the Mataram Museum, Ms. 026, entitled *Sari Manik*, a *lontar* of 55 folios. A version of this story, but with many differences in detail is to be found in a Madurese poem in *macapat* verse, L.Or.4835, described by Juynboll (1907:29-30).

4. Religious poems

There are a number of poems in Sasak containing Islamic teaching, often in the context of short narratives. They may contain counsels to follow the precepts of Islam, as well as mystical doctrines, many derived from Javanese or Malay sources, and of questionable orthodoxy. A considerable amount of Arabic terminology is used, sometimes with explanations within the texts. A number of the texts are partly in Javanese and partly in Sasak. It would appear that Javanese passages especially important for doctrinal or mystical reasons may be provided with a Sasak preface or appendix, or a Javanese preface may lend a dignity and authority to a Sasak work, or in some cases, diverse pieces have been brought together in small anthologies, and have been handed on in that form. In any case it seems probable that these mixed manuscripts belong to a period of transition between the use of Javanese and of Sasak for literary purposes. Accordingly, these will be treated first, followed by those which are wholly in Sasak.

Gunung Jati has its first canto in Javanese, in *dangdang gula*, the favourite for *suluk*, followed by two short ones in Sasak. It is a mystical tract, with opening references to *Gunung Jati*, *tunjung abang* (the red lotus, a term of Buddhist Tantric origin), *ambentar arga* (the split mountain), and *sunya* (quiet, emptiness; another term of Buddhist origin). There are references to God as *Hiang Widi*, *Allah kang mulia* and *Allah agung*, the Prophet Muhammad and his four companions, the creation, *mahluk*, and the Light of Muhammad. The Sasak portion is specific about Gunung Jati. It speaks of Sèh Ibni Ayati descended from Sèh Ibni Ayun, of the village of Layang Samar on Gunung Jati, where the mosque was called Bétal Maqmur (the house in the seventh heaven). The book of Sèh Ibni Ayati was called *Kitab bab asmara sunya* (the book of peaceful love). There are two copies in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, K.10,065 (= L.Or.10,329) and K.10,549.

Gedong Kirtya K.1348 (= L.Or.10,301), *Lalu Dunia* was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 42 folios, with 22 cantos and 347 stanzas. Cantos 1 and 3-18 are in Sasak, cantos 2 and 19-22 are in Javanese. The Sasak introduction states that the poem is intended as instruction for the young. Canto 2 deals with the months of the Muslim year and celebrations of the feasts of the

Muslim prophets. Cantos 3-18 have the sections alternating in Sinom and other metres, as if for two singers. They deal with the scriptures, the hours of prayer, the Prophet and his Companions, the four orthodox Imams. From canto 15 onwards, Lalu Dunia appears, asking questions and there are references to Madura, Rembang and Java.

Cantos 19-22 in Javanese refer to God as *Hyang Widi* and *Hyang Suksma*. Canto 20 refers to parts of the body and their spiritual significance. Canto 21 deals with theology and faith, heaven and hell. The last stanza, in an unknown metre (8i, 9a, 9o, 8i, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8a), has a reference to *Maleman* (the Night of Power) in the month of Ramadhan. K.10,099 (L.Or.10,347) is a palm-leaf of 35 folios from Selong, East Lombok, being in 23 cantos and 356 stanzas.

Sèh Umul Berahim (K.10,083 = L.Or.10,337) is a *lontar* of 9 folios in 6 cantos and 53 stanzas, of which cantos 1-3 and 6 are in Sasak, and 4-5 in Javanese. There is a *Suluk Umul Berahim*, wholly in Javanese in the National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta, Ms. Brandes 624, which begins with an enumeration of the qualities and bodily parts of a man derived from God, his father and his mother. There is a similar enumeration in this Lombok version. The *Picèndèk Sasak* tells us that *Sèh Umul Berahim* was an ascetic who dwelt on Gunung Darma. He was very wise and had many disciples to whom he taught the meaning of the twenty attributes of God (*Sipatullah dua pulu*), beginning with *wujud* (existence), *kidam* (steadfastness), *bakaq* (eternity) and so on. The final canto, in Sasak, includes an exposition of the *Bismillah*.

The poem *Kabar Kiyamat* (K.10,005/1) (L.Or.10,351) was a *lontar* of 43 folios, followed by the text *Nabi Cukur*. K.10,100 (L.Or.10,348) is a similar manuscript of a *lontar* of 21 folios from Selong, East Lombok. K.10,005/1 is an Islamic poem about the end of the world, in 3 cantos and 87 stanzas. The first canto is a Javanese introduction, the second and third are in Sasak. The poem describes the Day of Judgement, when the punishment of impious men will be declared, and tells of the gathering place, *Padang Mahsar*, where all the dead will be judged on the Last Day, and will then meet the Prophet Muhammad. It contains many Arabic terms with reference to the Pillars of Islam, proper conduct, traditions and so on. The *Nabi Cukur* has already been discussed in Chapter II.3. The version here has an introduction of 5 stanzas in Sasak followed by 2 cantos in Javanese.

There is another, longer, version of the *Kabar Kiyamat* represented by palm-leaf manuscripts in the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3668 and L.Or.3691. This is a poem in 9 cantos in Sasak of similar content. Juynboll (1912:197) notes that in Malay literature there are many texts of approximately the same content, and comparable titles. At the end of L.Or.3668, there is a section on earthquakes and eclipses, and then notes on Islam in Malay but in the Balinese script.

K.10,105 (L.Or.10,308) has been entitled *Kayat Nabi*. It is a collection of three Islamic tracts, the first also called *Kitab Hud* is in Sasak prose and is an account of the Prophets, the second in Javanese *macapat* verse on *Nur Cahya* and the coming of Islam to Lombok (see Chapter II.5 on *Nursada*), and the third is a Javanese prose commentary on the *Bismillah*. The original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 27 folios.

There are versions of poems variously called *Hikayat Siti Patimah* (K.10,066 = L.Or.10,330) and *Hikayat Abu Bakar* (K.1541 = L.Or.10,303). K.10,066 is in 6 cantos and 87 stanzas. It contains two episodes, firstly of Abu Bakar, the Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, who departed to witness to the dead, who had been judged and had had the experience of the grave. Further, the poem tells how Siti Patimah had been charged by her father, the Prophet, that she should be faithful, and should not ill-treat her husband, because she would become an example to be followed by all women. T.P. Hughes (1885:125) says:

'Fatimah was a daughter of Muhammad by his first wife, Khadijah. She married Ali, the cousin of Muhammad [...]. She is spoken of by the Prophet as one of the four perfect women, and is called *al-Batul*, the virgin, also Fatimah "Zuhra" or "the beautiful Fatimah".'

For the present manuscript, compare Royal Asiatic Society, London, Raffles Malay Ms. 62.V: *Hikayat Fatimah kawin*: a tract about the duties of married women, expounded by the Prophet to his daughter.

Hikayat Abu Bakar (K.1541) is a longer text of the same type. This was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 19 folios with 16 cantos and 189 stanzas. The first canto is an introduction of four stanzas in Javanese. Thereafter the poem proceeds in Sasak, beginning with an episode relating to Abu Bakar among the dead, but by canto 6, the main theme of the Prophet's advice to his daughter is introduced, and the text ends with counsel to worship and repent, and to maintain proper relations between men and women.

K.10,054 (L.Or.10,326) was a palm-leaf manuscript of 20 folios from Praya, Central Lombok. The poem is in 5 cantos and 114 stanzas, and tells of the angels who guard the tombs and of questions and answers from the grave. It is entitled *Malaèkat* (The Angels) and mentions Israpil, the Archangel Raphael, and Malaekat Kiraman Katibin, the Recording Angels, and Hari Kiamat, the Day of Judgement.

Si Miskin Lara is known from two nearly identical manuscripts, K.1347 (L.Or.10,300) and K.10,102 (L.Or.10,305). This is a Sasak poem, K.1347 being a palm-leaf of 31 folios, with 10 cantos and 242 stanzas. It is the story of two poor brothers who recount how they strove after knowledge of the end of the world, according to Muslim teaching. The work is cast in the form of a dialogue. In the Van der Tuuk collection, there is a fragment, L.Or.3673/1 of two

palm-leaves (copy at L.Or.3944/1), which consists of two verses *mas kumambang* in Sasak, where *kaji Si Miskin* is mentioned as the speaker, followed by 17 stanzas in Javanese in the same metre, with a mention of Lombok in the last verse, but the connection with *Si Miskin Lara* is not certain.

Percinan (K.1587) was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 10 folios and has 4 cantos and 76 stanzas. It is a tract for teaching the fundamentals of the Muslim faith and conduct of the young. Some of the verses are the same as those of the *Kabar Kiyamat*, and a part of the first canto compares life to the progress of a ship at sea, like the Malay *Syair Perahu* of Hamzah of Barus. The title *Percinan* (The Chinese matter) perhaps refers to the traditional saying of the Prophet: 'Seek for knowledge, even unto China' (see Arnold (1935:294), who quotes the saying from *Kanz al-'Ummal*, vol. 5, p. 202). This work should be distinguished from the *Amir Percinan* or *Pracinan* see above, Chapter II.2, B.15).

Sa'at (K.10,091 = L.Or.10,341) is about 'The moment, the appropriate time'. It is a didactic poem on eschatological matters, necessary for people to know and follow if they desire to achieve salvation. The original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 32 folios from Selong, East Lombok, and has 18 cantos and 231 stanzas. It deals with the Archangels, with *ma'ripat* (esoteric knowledge), with varieties of Islam in Lombok, Java and Arabia, of teachers able to deal with theological questions, the Gospels, the Psalms and the Qur'an, with Islamic rituals, the Prophets and the Companions, with *haram* and *halal*, with references to *Lalu Dunia*, the angels of judgement and prospects of heaven.

Tutur jati (K.10,061), with 8 cantos and 109 stanzas is another eschatological poem, which includes some verses the same as in the *Kabar Kiyamat*. It is described in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552, as follows:

Remember if you are ignorant, you should go to a wise man for instruction. If you follow your own inmost heart, you will become increasingly jealous. Whatever is living is destined to die, and at death will be consigned either to heaven or to hell. Those who do good or evil in the world will be recorded by the angel, and in the world to come will be rewarded or punished accordingly. May the Prophet and the angels be pleased to take us up to the door of heaven! Although a man may be rich on earth, at his death, whether now or later, he will be wrapped or swathed in a white cloth as a shroud. In spite of his riches, these will become an inheritance for the living; one should remember and think on this.

Remember the way which hints at the purpose of the will; if it is good, it will receive good; if ill, then ill. You should repent of your misdeeds towards others. Remember every young man who takes a wife, he should dwell with her in quietness; otherwise he will get divorced. The bridegroom should restrain himself in his conduct to his bride, like a man who enjoys fishing, surrendering bit by bit, like a man paying out a line.

If you ask questions concerning the law of Islam, go to an expert, who will straightway give you a clear answer. When you go to worship, you must first make the ritual ablution (*wuduq*). Many other matters relating to the law of Islam are also declared by the wise men (*alim*). The final canto, in *mas kumambang*, often called *syair* in Sasak, tells of a young man of Ganti in Central Lombok who was so mad on the girls that he dreamt about them every night. He was sick with love for a girl, and undertook to provide a feast (*rowah*), if he gained her for his wife.

The poems of Muslim faith and devotion, both those Javanese *suluk* discussed in Chapter II.4, as well as the mixed texts in Javanese and Sasak and the popular verses wholly in Sasak, indicate a variety of sources, Javanese, Malay, and indigenous from Lombok. Though some of them can be assigned with some confidence to the Waktu Telu, others are of doubtful affiliation. Some show signs of a Malay origin, but this is not in itself a guarantee of Muslim orthodoxy, notwithstanding the equivalence often made in Lombok between Malay Islam and the Waktu Lima. Many of the Sasak texts are inter-related in their details, and need further research to establish origins, content and affiliation.

5. Historical poems

In general the Sasak *babad* are later in time of composition, and in subject matter than those composed in Javanese and discussed in Chapter II.5. They are concerned with the affairs of the three principal Sasak centres of later times, Sèlaparang, Sakra and Praya. The *Babad Sèlaparang* in Sasak however, covers some of the same ground as that of the Javanese *Babad Lombok Sandubaya*, including the tragic story of Lala Saruni, and an appendix of Muslim eschatology. K.10,076 is in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja. There is no copy in Leiden, but there is an extensive summary in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552. The Hooykaas-Ketur Sangka transcript, HKS 2388 (L.Or.10,242) is a similar manuscript, originally a palm-leaf of 25 folios in 8 cantos and 227 stanzas.

The content is as follows. In Lombok, in pre-Muslim times, the earliest village was called Perapatan, situated below Gunung Renjani, and the ruler was Datu Tunggul Nyaka Tumpur. One night, Perapatan was destroyed by wind, rain and earthquake, and the inhabitants escaped to Batut Dèndèng and other villages. The king and his followers fled to the forests in the east of Lombok and constructed a new village. Demung Laga also came to the forest of Brang Bantun with his people and built a village. His brother, Demung Sandubaya, had a wife, Lala Saruni, who was very beautiful. One day, Sandubaya and his wife visited Datu Lombok, who seeing the beauty of Lala

Saruni, fell madly in love with her and sought some stratagem to possess her. Not long after, Sandubaya went hunting in the woods and was killed. His horse, Gagar Mayang, ran home with his body smeared with blood and Lala Saruni, who saw the horse return with his body all bloody, fell down in a faint. When she came to, she cried and followed the horse to where her husband lay. At last she found him dead, and buried him at that place, and had his horse killed there also. Now Datu Lombok went out with his courtiers to take Lala Saruni with them back to the palace. She requested him that they should first bathe at the bay of Baris and thereafter she would be willing to follow him. The Datu was very pleased and they all went to bathe in the bay. On the strand he saw that near Lala Saruni a lotus flower was floating in from the midst of the sea. It was said that it had the fragrance of Lala Saruni, but the Datu did not agree. He went into the sea to smell the lotus flower, but it floated away again, and he slipped and fell into a faint. Lala Saruni hurried down in the water and was immediately drawn by the lotus into the midst of the sea.

Demung Sandubaya was succeeded by Demung Laga, who challenged the Datu of Lombok to war. In the end, Demung Laga was defeated, left his village, and built another on the mountainside, Montong Monggoq. The last two cantos tell of Mecca and Islam, and the signs of the Day of Judgement. This appendix, which seems to have no connection with the main story is, however, similar to that of the Javanese *Babad Lombok Sandubaya* (E.48, K.427, Teeuw 8: see Chapter II.5) on which it appears to depend.

The Gedong Kirtya Ms. K.10,046, *Babad Congah Sakra I*, is a poem in three cantos and 77 stanzas. The first two cantos are in Sasak, the third in Javanese. It deals with the incident of an adventurer prince of Makassar. There is a summary in the *Picèndèk Sasak*, K.10,552. During the rule of the Balinese in Lombok, there came a *karaing* from Makassar, who went to Sakra and married Ni Ringgit, the daughter of the Datu of Pejanggiq. He settled in Sakra and succeeded his father-in-law as Datu. He soon called upon the nobles and people to go to war against the Balinese Raja. This was to be a holy war and the Datu cited the examples of Umar, Usman, Abu Bakar and Ali, saying that those who died in the war would be fighting for God, but those who were fearful would go to hell. He invited the people to share in the *bubur* or gruel on the feast of 10 Muharram. After this proclamation, he sent word to his ministers and army officers, and they entered on a war with the Balinese. The *karaing* of this story was evidently the father of Komala-dewa Mas Panji, the leader of the 1826 rebellion described in the following texts.

The *Babad Congah Sakra II* is known from the palm-leaf manuscript in the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3596/1, and four others from the same collection; and from the Gedong Kirtya, from K.10,072 (L.Or.10,332), which was originally a palm-leaf manuscript of 92 folios in 6 cantos and 282 stanzas. It

is an account of the rebellion at Sakra, East Lombok, from 16 July to 4 November 1826. One of the Van der Tuuk manuscripts, L.Or.3807/2, has the date Sakra 1780 (1856 AD), which is fairly early for texts written in Sasak. The first canto introduces many of the principal characters: Datu Mas Panji, Dèn (Radèn) Suryajaya, Dèn Nuna Lancung, Dèn Ormat, Pan Sirage, and their Balinese enemy, the Anak Agung. Throughout the poem, the names of various villages implicated are given: Pringgarata, Juring, Kopang, Rarang, Suradadi and others. The poem concludes with the defeat of Mas Panji and the failure of the rebellion.

The longer *Babad Congah Sakra III* incorporates the substance of the earlier work, and continues to the final struggle of Dutch and Sasak against the Balinese rulers of Lombok (1891-1894), and the destruction of Cakranegara, all described by Teeuw (1953a). This was based upon a romanized transliteration of a manuscript he calls S (listed in Pigeaud (1968, II:904) as Teeuw 18). The original was a palm-leaf manuscript of 132 folios, which may be compared with Mataram Museum Ms. 1049 of 134 folios which was copied in 1972. Teeuw also refers to two Engelenberg manuscripts. E.142: which corresponds with an early part of his own manuscript, introducing Dèn Suryajaya and Mas Panji, and after a gap, E.138, which begins with the first stages of rebellion, including affairs at Pancor and Jerowaru in East Lombok, and the departure of allies returning to Sumbawa. Teeuw's manuscript then continues with an account of dynastic quarrels of the Balinese (1837-1840), troubles at Praya in 1855, and the final conflict of 1891-1894.

The *Babad Congah Sakra III* begins with the rebellion at Sakra in 1826 instigated by Radèn Suryajaya, an impetuous young man, unwilling to heed the advice of his elders, who nevertheless attracted a popular following. The Balinese ruler demanded the sending of young women from Sakra for the palace, which was much resented. Envoys returning from this mission brought a summons from the ruler of Sakra to go to the capital. Suryajaya urged Komaladewa Mas Panji to rebel against the Balinese. He came with his father, Manajahi, to say that not only were the Sasak ready, but also that the minor Balinese courts of Mataram, Pegasangan and Pagutan were then inclined to resist the hegemony of Karangasem Lombok. Mas Panji urged the nobles of Sakra, Dèn Nuna Lancung and Dèn Hormat, to take part, the latter being reluctant. News of the Sasak preparations reached West Lombok and a first skirmish near Rarang went against the Sasak. Then the men of Kopang and Batu Kiang marched westwards, pretending to be escaping from Sakra, but they were engaged and surrounded by the Balinese. Sasak reinforcements from Praya and southern villages then came up, but Mas Panji was wounded, and Radèn Suryajaya and the Sasak fell away. The Balinese failed to follow and all the Sasak returned to Sakra. Mean-while, Manajahi, in the village of Surabaya in South-East Lombok, gathered forces from nearby to

help Mas Panji. At this point, the Balinese had invested Jerowaru in the South-East. Manajahi was sent to help, but the Balinese, aided by Sasak from Suradadi, intercepted them. The men of Jerowaru were not able to withstand the Balinese pressure. The Balinese turned first against Surabaya, then against Sakra.

Sumbawanese visitors were expected at Sakra and landed on the East Coast of Lombok at Rambang, but when Manajahi with a party under white flags went to meet them, they were suspicious and sailed away. Meanwhile, the Balinese repeatedly attacked Sakra, but for a time Mas Panji held them off. Then he took respite to attend a cockfight. The Balinese renewed the attack, which caused panic. Radèn Suryajaya and Radèn Hormat were killed, and Mas Panji was hit by a bullet, and took no further part in the struggle. The Balinese fired the mosque of Sakra, and there was renewed panic, and Sakra was soon subdued.

Next follows an account of the Balinese dynastic quarrels of 1839-1840. This arose because the wife of the ruler of Mataram, who was sister of the ruler of Karangasem Sasak, had left her husband for a man called Gedé Dandin. Mataram attacked Karangasem, and in spite of lesser numbers prevailed against them, and the Sasak who had been clients of Karangasem went over to Mataram. In 1843, the son of the ruler of Mataram wanted to marry the princess of Pagutan, but the ruler of Koripan persuaded Pagutan that he would make a worthier husband. Pagutan rose against Mataram, Koripan did not help, and the ruler of Pagutan was killed. The ruler of Koripan had married a woman of Sakra, but when Mataram attacked him, Sakra failed to help and Koripan chiefs in Mataram were murdered.

In 1855, there was a quarrel between Mataram and Praya. The Balinese ruler had demanded the daughter of the ruler of Praya to be brought to Mataram, but he refused. Later, three Hajis were killed and Praya was subjected. A new palace at Cakranegara, the Mayura, with water gardens was built for the Balinese Raja. In Karangasem, Bali, at a cremation at which Cakranegara was represented, the theft of a ceremonial kris by a man of Klungkung led to an altercation and the Déwa Agung of Klungkung attacked Karangasem, who asked for help from Lombok, which was offered against Klungkung.

The final struggle of the Sasak against their Balinese rulers broke out at Praya in 1893. A stand was made at Kediri, but the Balinese prevailed, and also managed by devious means to impress Sakra to take action against Praya, but the Sakra men later returned home. Then the Balinese general, Ida Wayan, captured men from Sakra and exiled them to the island of Trawangan on the North-West coast. When he passed through Central Lombok he found all the Sasak in revolt and fled, while another Balinese leader, Gusti Belosok, was killed by Sasak at Pohgading in East Lombok. All East Lombok now

stood with Sakra, and more and more villages joined in the cause. But at a great battle near Kediri in West Lombok, the Sasak were beaten and the Tuan Guru of Sakra was slain. Risings in Gerung and Sekerbéla showed the Balinese that West Lombok Sasak were now also against them. A major battle round Praya remained inconclusive, and Sasak prisoners escaping from Trawangan met disaster. The Sasak effort lost momentum and the Balinese regained much of Central Lombok, and advanced on Masbagik in East Lombok, but the onslaught was indecisive.

Now follows an episode of a supposed prince of Makassar who came to help Sakra. He led Sasak forces to attack the Balinese headquarters at Kotaraja and neighbouring villages, but without success. It was after this that the Dutch intervened. Their envoy was Lieftrinck, who came to Sakra, and was able to arrange relief supplies, and later a force of eight warships was sent to Ampenan. He was able to get partial withdrawal of the Balinese forces, but was persuaded to spare the palace. One night the Balinese fell on the Dutch who were encamped by the Meru temple in Cakranegara, and 2,000 were killed, while others had to retreat, and others were killed in an engagement at Narmada. A new expedition was sent from Europe and Batavia. Ten ships were sent, which bombarded the Balinese positions, and 50,000 soldiers were landed. The Anak Agung in Mataram was the first to die, the ruler of Cakranegara was taken prisoner and exiled, Cakranegara was pillaged and burnt, and the Balinese fled hither and thither.

Babad Congah Praya and *Babad Mengwi* are versions of the same history which are also closely related textually. They relate principally to the campaigns in Bali and Lombok from 1891 to 1894. There are three manuscripts in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja (K.137), *Babad Congah Praya* (L.Or.10,298), in 13 cantos and 241 stanzas, another of the same title, K.10,040 originally a palm-leaf of 346 folios in 41 cantos and 1043 stanzas, and K.1379 (L.Or.10,302) *Babad Mengwi*, in 151 folios with 45 cantos and 1389 stanzas. Besides these, there is a palm-leaf manuscript, *Babad Praya* in the Mataram Museum, Ms. 1624, with 125 folios and *Babad Praya Mengwi*, a typed romanized transcript, with 471 stanzas. All appear to cover parts of the same history. Descriptions of the Gedong Kirtya manuscripts will be given, followed by collations from the romanized transcripts in the Leiden collections, and further notes on the Mataram manuscripts.

Babad Congah Praya (K.10,040) is described in the *Picèndèk Sasak* (K.10,552) as follows. This history begins with the outbreak of war between Mengwi and Klungkung in Bali. The chiefs of Mengwi thought of rising against their overlord, Ratu Gdé Ngurah, Raja of Mengwi. He set out to see the Cokorda Dewa Rai of Klungkung to ask for help, as his chiefs were preparing to rebel. However, the ruler of Klungkung was jealous at heart, and hoped that he could crush Mengwi. As soon as he had heard of the intentions of the

Mengwi chiefs he enticed the Rajas of Bangli, Gianyar, Tabanan and Badung to rise and help the rebels. The Cokorda said that the Raja of Mengwi was a bad man, dependent upon Karangasem, who in turn was supported by Mengwi. The forces of the Raja of Mengwi were overcome and surrendered, and the Raja lost his life. In this campaign, Sasak troops had been sent to assist Karangasem in its support of Mengwi. After the defeat, the Sasak returned to Lombok, but the Babad is silent on this episode. However, by then, events in Lombok had become very unsettled. The Balinese ruler, Anak Agung Madé Jelantik, was put to death by his son, who wanted to become ruler of Lombok. But he oppressed his subjects, and tried to appropriate their possessions. This was a factor in the desire of the Sasak troops to return from Bali. In particular, Guru Semail, also known as Guru Bangkol, and Mamiq Sepian plotted to rebel against the Balinese Raja. Not long after this, the war of Praya against the Balinese Raja of Lombok broke out. Up to the end of this text, the result of the rebellion of Praya had not been decided.

K.137 is a shorter manuscript, corresponding to the middle part of K.10,040. K.1379, *Babad Mengwi*, begins at the same point as K.10,040, but continues the story further, and in particular, the final cantos of these two manuscripts differ. The correspondences between the three are as follows. K.137, cantos 1-13 correspond approximately to K.10,040, cantos 25-37; K.1379, cantos 1-13 correspond approximately with K.10,040, cantos 1-13; K.1379, cantos 14-15 differ from K.10,040 canto 14; K.1379, cantos 16-39 correspond with K.10,040, cantos 15-38; K.1379, cantos 40-45 differ from K.10,040, cantos 39-41.

Mataram Museum Ms. 1624 is described by Lalu Gdé Suparman in *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:21). It was written by an author from Batujai, Central Lombok. It relates that the Praya rebellion arose through provocation from palace circles, and from a man of Arab extraction called Tuan Sayid Abdullah of Ampenan. The Sasak were required to pay tribute on ricefields; in revenge there arose the opinion that it was acceptable to steal property from non-Muslims. In this situation, decisions were made without weighing the consequences. The Sasak vaunted their bravery, while the Balinese prided themselves on their power. The Sasak acted hastily, while the Anak Agung Madé made mistakes in his choice of commanders. He employed Muslim as well as Balinese troops to attack Praya. The war ended with the destruction of the state of Karangasem Lombok in 1894, and the entry of Dutch colonialism into the island.

The unnumbered transcript of the Mataram text, *Babad Praya Mengwi* (Mataram 1991a:19-20), opens by relating the revolt of Sasak farmers of Praya against oppressive taxation. This led to the rebellion of 1891 under the leadership of Lalu Semail (Guru Bangkol), assisted by Haji Dolah, Haji Yasmin, Mamiq Sepian and others. There was a man called Tuan Serip, who claimed

to be an Arab, who was a terrorist and informant for both sides. Through his intelligence tactics, he involved other districts, including Sakra, Masbagik, Jerowaru, and many other places, so that war became inevitable. The forces of the Anak Agung were led by Ratu Madé, who with other leaders and their troops left Cakranegara and advanced on Praya. The forces of Praya also advanced, but the village of Puyung nearby could not give them passage, as it was guarded by troops loyal to be the Balinese government. Lalu Semail fell sick, but the two armies met at Batu Kiang, near Kopang, and this is where the first engagement took place. After succeeding there, the Balinese moved on Praya, and some of the Sasak fled; the rest remained and fortified the mosque. They were armed with kris, spears and swords, but the Balinese also had guns. By a ruse of tying spears onto ropes and moving them above the level of the stockade, the Sasak deceived their attackers, who for a while withdrew, but they returned to the attack. Many of the surrounding villages were occupied by the forces of the Anak Agung, who also fortified the village of Lènèng, but the troops of Praya repelled them from there. This was the first real success of Praya. The Anak Agung's forces retreated and regrouped, and again advanced but unsuccessfully, as by this time, places which had formerly been loyal to him, now joined with Praya, including Jerowaru, Sakra, Apitaik, Pringgabaya and Pohgading, all in East Lombok, under the military leadership of Haji Ali and Mamiq Wirasantané. Meanwhile the forces of Praya, assisted by men from Pujut, Kawo, Penujak, Batujai, Mujur and Marong, all in Central Lombok, overran the headquarters of the Mataram forces at Puyung, northwest of Praya. This manuscript appears to be incomplete, since, notwithstanding its title, no mention of the Mengwi war and the involvement of Sasak troops in Bali is made in the summary.

The Lombok *babad*, including the earlier ones in Javanese and the later ones in Sasak need to be researched and edited, both to establish their relationships one to another, and also to reconstruct the history of Lombok. For this purpose, still other *babad*, such as the *Gaguritan Babad Lombok* K.2274 (HKS 2502) in Balinese should be put under contribution. The history of the Dutch campaign and conquest of 1894 was the subject of much Dutch writing of the time, and the whole subject needs to be reviewed in the light of both Western and indigenous writings. There are besides various prose documents from Lombok, not only in Sasak, but also in Balinese, Javanese and Malay which need investigation. Some of those in Sasak are described in the next section.

There is one more historical poem in Sasak, the *Uwug Bulèlèng*, of which there appears to be a unique palm-leaf manuscript in the Van der Tuuk collection, L.Or.3664, partly copied in a codex, L.Or.4632. The *lontar* is of 45 folios, in five cantos. It gives an account of the defeat of the state of Bulèlèng in North Bali in 1814 by an English expeditionary force. The occasion is

explained by Crawford (1820, II:562): 'A brother of the Hindu Raja of Blelling [Bulèlèng] in Bali, having insulted the post of Blambangan in Java, a British expedition, proceeding to Celebes, stops at Bali, and receives the submission of the Raja'. Brandes (1901-26, III:279) says that this expedition under Sir Miles Nightingall (1768-1829), Commander-in-Chief in Java (1813-1815), was made in May 1814, after the Balinese in February of that year had made an invasion of Banyuwangi, and had arrested an envoy sent by the English to Karangasem. This expedition, which Nightingall undertook on the way to Sulawesi, where he fought against Goa, had a very short duration during which, after some effort, the Puri was taken. The reason for a Sasak *babad* on this theme is probably due to the involvement of Karangasem at this time in the affairs of Bulèlèng, and hence the probability of the employment of Sasak forces, when Karangasem usurped the Bulèlèng throne.

6. Minor poetry and proverbs

Javanese metres were used for short occasional poems in Sasak. Some of them are lover's epistles, such as L.Or.3837, a palm-leaf of four folios, with a poem in *dangdang gula*, in which the young man declares that he cannot eat, he is madly in love with his girl, his heart is captivated when he sees her. Another such poem is in 28 stanzas *asmarandana*, transcribed into Roman script by Van der Tuuk (L.Or.4707), while the Engelenberg collection contains a *surat kiriman* (E.158), described as a letter from a young man to a girl, in verse, declaring his love. Another love poem, E.131 is simply described as *gaguritan*. Other short poems contain moral advice for the young, such as E.132 and E.144, with counsels to cultivate humility, which leads to good manners and correct conduct.

The most important type of popular poetry is the *lelakaq*, the Sasak *pantun*, used by singers, for instance interspersed among the stanzas of the well-loved *Tutur Monyèh*, by the modern *cilokaq* musical groups, and between young men and women at village dances. The character of the *lelakaq* is similar to that of the Malay *pantun*, being a quatrain in which the first couplet is usually a picture suggesting the situation, but without necessary logical connection with the second couplet, in which the sentiment or moral is expressed. Laloe Djaja (1957) has a chapter on *lelakaq*, which he classifies according to their purpose and content: *penyelemor* for consolation, *nyéwaka* expressing loyalty, *kasmaran* for love, *tuduh*, accusations, *sindir*, insinuation or teasing, and *agama* or *tobat* for religious themes. The same classification was adopted in the *Sastra lisan Sasak* (Saleh, Thoir et al. 1984), many of the same *pantun* being used as illustrations. Both books supply Indonesian translations, most of which themselves make acceptable *pantun*, and show that in

general there is little significant difference in this type of poetry in the two languages. For example, of boundless love:

Piaq tetaring, jari sempara,
Taoq sangu pengamparan
Lamun dekaji jari segara,
Kaji perau belancaran.

Build a roof and make an attic,
Where provisions never fail:
If you were the Adriatic,
On your waters I would sail.

Again, of spiritual earnestness:

Daun waru jari lelayang
Bau paku sedin erat
Pacu-pacu gawé sembayang
Jari sangu dateng ahérat.

Mallow leaves will make a kite;
Gather ferns beside the brook:
Diligently perform the rite
If for heaven's gate you look.

That the *lelakaq* is still alive is witnessed by its use by *cilokaq* groups. As examples from a cassette from the Pusaka Group (Mataram, 1988), there are a number of items, each in groups of four *lelakaq*, mostly without close links within the groups, under the titles *Wayan angen* (A Time for Love), *Anak sengsara* (A Child of Misfortune), *Melet bedait* (Wanting to Meet), *Nenari*, Seduction (*Sai tia*, Who Is That?), *Sorong serah* (Dowries), and *Anak iwoq* (The Orphan). The last begins:

Jual pelisaq, beli sia,
Ambon jamaq, masak tekelaq,
Idup mésa léq dunia,
Inaq amaq uah endéqna araq.

Salt is bought, beans are sold,
Sweet potatoes freshly boiled
Living lonely in the world,
Fate decrees the orphan child.

The term *lelakaq* is also used to cover some other types of epigrammatic verses which are not in quatrain form. This includes riddles (*pepinjang*), often in couplets (*gurindam*), also a couplet as a rhyming epigram, and a sextet:

Emben paoq, emben belida,
 Sawur moto impan kedit:
 Leman jaoq kenangku sida,
 Bebonto nguremku kejit,
 Kelungkung takaq sia,
 Moga kuberuntung sida.

Where is the mango, where the shuttle?
 Scatter grain to feed the sparrows
 From afar I thought of you.
 I give a token to my man,
 A basket to hold salt
 As if I were married to him.

Closely related to the *lelakaq* are the Sasak proverbs and sayings. In some cases, folk-tales illustrate a particular saying, in others a tale is closed with a moral tag. These will be discussed in the chapter on folk literature. The most accessible source for studying the proverbs is the article of Vogelesang (1922b), with 40 examples, followed by ten collected by Laloe Mesir of Pringabaya. The latter is the author of the 'Anatjaraka Sasak' (1928), mentioned in Chapter I.2. The sentiments of the Sasak proverbs turn out to be universal ones in local dress:

araq gula, araq tètès, where there is sugar, the ants will be;
ngadung payung sedih man ujan, putting up an umbrella before it rains, that is, crying before you are hurt;
gagak bekeletek meraq, a crow in peacock feathers.

Laloe Mesir's proverbs are of the same kind: *maraq kerujuq numpes diri*, like a crayfish who stabs himself, *maraq buaq sigar dua*, like an areca fruit split in two, as we would say, like two peas in a pod. His last example is entitled *Sesenggak sinamasi penjenengan Anak Agung Sélaparang*, that is a saying of the former ruler of Lombok, which begins: *Maraq upamaning pepudah*, that is like a great silver river fish. This long piece was explained as follows. Now is the time of Dutch rule (1920); although the tank is so great, and the water so clear and fresh, every day the *pepudah* can outstrip the mullet (*belanak*), even its scales become more beautiful than in the time of Sélaparang; that is all positions and ranks are now open to the fittest, the little man can outstrip the greater in spendour.

Among the stories in the collection of Lalu Odoq of Praya (1941), are eight anecdotes or moralizing tales illustrating Sasak proverbs:

Maraq waya timpal langas – Like steel on charcoal (K.10,445);
Empaq bau aiq meneng, tunjung tilah – The fish gets clear water, the lotus is unharmed (K.10,447);

Dèndèng péta api – The bamboo rice-stamper seeks the fire (K.10,448);
Lamun janji, ndèq kenèng gingsir – Though he agrees, he will not withdraw (K.10,449);
Belok jauq jambleng – The fool holds the lance (K.10,450);
Berongga tama desa – The buck deer enters the village (K.10,451);
Lengkok pènèq, icaq tai – To step over urine and tread in dung (K.10,452);
Linyok manjing surga – Sinners take over heaven (K.10,454).

7. Sasak prose works

Written Sasak prose is used only for practical or technical matters. The most important texts of this kind are genealogies. K.7 (L.Or.10,296), *Babad Lombok*, is in fact a short description of the alleged descent of Déwa Mas Panji of Sakra. It is a palm-leaf of 3 folios from Praya. It begins with Betara Indra Banyusakti, and other immortals with Hindu names to the three daughters of Déwi Mas Widusari. From their descendants came the inhabitants of Lombok. From another line came Déwi Mas Jagarmanik who was transported to Gunung Renjani, whence came the line of Mas Panji. K.350, *Pengempokan Sakra*, also from central Lombok was a palm-leaf of 17 folios. It is a genealogy of the progeny of Datu Mas Jarum of Sakra, giving also the village boundaries of Sélaparang, Sakra and Pejanggal, with lists of names of the *datu* and *patih*.

Keluhuran Nènèq Ganti (K.136) is a typescript of 25 folios. K.10,084 appears to be another transliteration of the same document. It is a genealogical account of the nobility of the village of Ganti in the southeast part of Central Lombok. There is a long summary in the *Picèndèk Sasak* (K.10,552) according to which there was a chief in the village of Bayan, in the north of Lombok, called Betara Guru Pendita, who had three children, Déwi Anjani, Néq Mas Komala Jagat and Néq Mas Pemuteran Jagat. The father commanded his children to erect a bamboo flagmast; whoever succeeded in doing so was to enter Bayan. Néq Mas Komala Jagat disappeared, reached Mamenang and attached himself to Pé Bangkol. One day Néq Mas went fishing at sea and was dragged on his line by a big fish to Selong Belanak, whence he went to clear jungle on Gunung Batu Dèndèng, and had a daughter by a *bidadari*. A descent, Néq Mas Pada, married a princess of Langko (a former village, south of Kopang). Two of the children went to Ganti, and the document closes with a list of descendants in that village. Another version of this text is entitled *Guru Pendita dait bencangah désa Ganti* (Guru Pendita and the history of the village of Ganti). It is a paper document, K.10,304 of 36 folios, written in ink and pencil, dated Praya, 20 May 1939. The thrust of these closely related texts is to outline the mythological origins and the interrelationships of the principal ruling families of the old villages of Lombok.

Silsilah Batu Dèndèng (Mataram Museum Ms. 1208), is a palm-leaf manu-

script of 50 folios of similar character, described in the *Bunga rampai* (Mataram 1991a:23-4). It begins with an account of legendary origins, beginning with Datu Sempopo, who having no formulated religion, contracted incestuous marriages, as a consequence of which he was cursed by God, so that the waters of the sea at Pena overwhelmed the region of Sempopo and neighbouring districts. After this calamity, the leading chiefs tried to re-establish themselves elsewhere, as for example Panji Sari Kedaro, who migrated to Tendaun, while Harya Lesong, the son of Datu Batu Dendeng established himself at Lesong, and others at Padamara, Penujak and Pujut. This text also contains an account of the coming of the Javanese, who subdued the kingdom of Busing Cili. The Javanese leader, Nakhoda Lewin from Tanah Pesisir, married a noble lady from Batu Dèndèng and became ruler. The story continues with an account of Ki Rangga, who had magic powers, who caused a riot at Koripan, and was only overcome when reinforcements arrived from Pejanggal. He first fled to Tabuaq, where he was defeated by two champions from Batu Dendang named Nèq Dipati and Aryapati. There is a hill near Tabuaq called Montong Tirangga, which commemorates Ki Rangga.

There is a document of special interest, *Adat Waktu Telu*, which exists in various copies, K.349, K.10,011, K.10,103 and L.Or.10,306, L.Or.10,355 and L.Or.14,838. The original was a *lontar* of 6 folios from Selong, East Lombok. There is a French translation in Bousquet (1939b:176-7). It has important relationships with the *Pengempokan Sèlaparang* described above. It begins by giving the scale of obligatory donations of rice to fulfil the requirements of *jakat* and *pitrah*. For worship, one has to have a pure place, with a roof and an enclosure, which may not be entered by women. Prayer is made five times a day, but only on Fridays, during the fasting month and at funerals. It consists of four *takbir*, that is uttering the words *Allahu akbar*, with two *rekaqat* (prostrations), then sixteen *takbir* and two more prostrations. After this, nine prayers are said in sequence. In the month of Muharram, in the evenings, *bubur béaq*, a red rice broth, is served, two prostrations are made and the prayer of Asura performed. In the month of Safar, similar ceremonies are held, but white broth is served. In Rabiulawal, which is called Maulud, the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad is commemorated, by a celebration at midnight with the prayer of the Apostle, with further ceremonies next morning. The customs are mentioned in a book called *Pemesanan* (The Commandments). The *Adat Waktu Telu* tells of villages, including one called Majapahit in Lombok, where orders were given by the prince to construct a mosque according to a special prescription. The mosque had 44 pillars and a roof of three stages. When all was finished, a great feast was held with meat of goats, fowls, cows and buffaloes. The mosque was called Marowan Belèq (The Great Marwan), and was to be a sign for the remembrance of posterity. In fact this became the ideal pattern for a Waktu Telu mosque, of which many of for-

mer times are listed in various villages mentioned in the *Pengempokan Sakra*.

Other known manuscripts written in Sasak prose are all short and of minor importance. There are several manuscripts in the Lombok (Cakranegara Palace) Collection in Leiden, including Muslim prayers, as well as incantations to ensure success in shooting birds. Some are described by Juynboll (1912:203), including L.Or.5131/2, L.Or.5161, L.Or.5257, and L.Or.5437. The Engelenberg collection contains several documents called *Pembayun*, which are dowry agreements made at the time of betrothals (such are E.147 to E.152).

8. Prose tales and reminiscences

Story-telling as well as reminiscences of people, places and events have a substantial place in Sasak literature. At least four small and one large collection of such materials have been made by writing down oral texts from traditional story-tellers. It will be convenient to look at the smaller collections first, for content and character, and then to consider the larger collection, which is more complex, containing more categories of texts and offering wider possibilities for the appreciation and analysis of Sasak oral literature.

The Engelenberg collection, in the Indonesian National Library, Jakarta, contains seven Sasak stories. E.137, *Teujat-ujat*, tells how a civet cat urged a monkey to steal mangoes from a man's orchard. This is probably a version of a widely popular story of the civet cat and the monkey stealing ginger, which will be discussed later. E.159 is a paper manuscript, containing five stories. E.159a, *Kaoq dait macan*, is the tale of a buffalo who was about to be eaten by a tiger, until the buffalo directed him to a pool of clear water, where he saw his reflection and was afraid to drink. This story was probably imported, as there are no tigers in Lombok. E.159b, *La Seruntun*, tells of a girl who borrowed scissors and owned a golden cockerel, and met with her mother who had been long dead. E.159c, *Dengan belok* is a series of anecdotes about a foolish man called Amaq Minama, similar to other such tales in the collections discussed below. E.159d, *Kemanukan kekèlik*, tells of the origin of the cuckoos, another of the most frequently met tales. E.159e, *Anak kéwoq*, is the story of the Orphan Boy, widespread in Indonesia. E.160, *Mantri Tuttur* is the story of how one minister was on friendly terms with four others, and what befell them. These stories were collected about the beginning of the present century, and are the oldest evidence available for this class of Sasak literature.

In 1979, the Department of Education and Culture in Mataram published a collection of twenty stories entitled: *Cerita rakyat (mite dan legende) Daèrah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, of which the first thirteen are in Sasak, and are identified by which of the four principal dialects in which they are recorded (*Cerita*

rakyat 1979). They are mainly legends of people or places, and do not duplicate any of the titles or subjects found in the other collections. The first of these is entitled *Batu Goloq*, which tells of Datu Goloq from that place, which is south of Masbagik in East Lombok. There are other stories of the rulers of Langko and of Penjanggiq, of Embung Puntiq, The Banana Tank (a reservoir near Ganti), and of Gunung Pujut. Tales about people include *Haji Ali Batu*, and *Wali Nyatoq*, The missionary saint, *Riwayat Gaos Abdul Razak*; and *Tuan Guru saq bedosa*, the teacher who sinned.

In 1984, *Sastra lisan Sasak*, part of the wider project on Indonesian languages and literatures, was published by the Department of Education and Culture at Denpasar (Saleh, Thoir et al. 1984). This work was led by Shaleh Saidi, with a team including Nazir Thoir, of Suralaga, East Lombok as the Sasak consultant, based on field research in Lombok and analysis and editing at the Udayana University, Denpasar. Besides stories, *lelakaq* and mantras were also considered. The material was classified according to current theories dealing with folk literature. The stories were classed as legends, farcical tales, fables, stories about ghosts and giants, stories about kings, and myths. Eleven folk-tales were recorded in Sasak, with Indonesian translations, and assigned to the various groupings, some being included in more than one class, while other stories were also classified, but not published. Apart from theoretical considerations, an important aspect of those reproduced is that most of them are known from other sources to be of frequent occurrence, and so may be said to represent the most characteristic corpus of Sasak story-telling. Summaries of these stories will provide a basis for assessing that character.

Loq Sekéq is the story of a foolish boy who was an orphan and lived with his grandmother who sent him on various errands, and did one stupid thing after another. He went to buy pots and pans at the market, another time to buy a buffalo, and yet another to get salt, which he spread on the leaves of trees as he returned home. Other misfortunes ensued when he went to be married at the mosque, when he boiled his own grandmother, and when he buried himself, thinking he was dead after smelling the stink of his own fart. There are several other versions of this sequence in the Gedong Kirtya collection.

Lelampaq léndong kaoq (The Slippers of Buffalo Leather) is a clock tale, in which the slippers, endowed with human speech, prayed to God to become in turn mice, cats, dogs, villagers, headmen, princes and then God. But this last request was not granted and they were turned back to slippers again. There is a version at K.10,110.

Anaq iwoq (The Orphan Boy) tells how he lived with his grandmother, and when she fell sick, wanted to eat meat. The boy set snares in which in turn he caught a shrimp, a pig, a deer, a monkey, a civet cat, and a bluebottle, which, however, he released, and they all became his friends. His grandmother died,

and he left home and came to the residence of the king, who challenged him to a cockfight and various other contests, in which his newly found animal friends assisted him, sometimes by transforming themselves and employing magic means to help him win every time. When he was challenged to find the queen disguised as a market woman, the bluebottle settled on her turban so that the orphan boy could recognize her. In the end the king presented him with the queen, and the orphan boy ruled in his stead. This tale closely parallels the version at K.10,124 (L.Or.10,313), and there are many other related stories to be noted later.

Godèk dait tuntel (The Monkey and the Frog) is a favourite animal fable. It tells how the frog was friends with the monkey, who invited him to see the river in flood. They saw an uprooted banana tree floating down, caught it and divided it between them. The frog took the root, which flourished; the monkey had the head, which soon died. When the monkey visited the frog, he pretended that his tree was growing, and observed that of the frog, which was doing well. When it came into fruit, the monkey asked to climb it, which he did and ate all the bananas. The frog hid under a coconut shell, but called *tul, tul*. The monkey took a great rock to crush the frog, but dashed it against himself and he died. Such will be the fate of false friends. Other monkeys came to revenge their brother, but the frog persuaded them to drink water until they burst. Versions of this story in the Gedong Kirtya collection are noted below.

Sampi dait macan (The Oxen and the Tiger). While a pair of oxen were sheltering in the shade, a tiger came and asked them why they were tied up. They replied that that was what the man did to them. The tiger undertook to kill their owner and free them. When he found the man, the tiger threatened to kill him, but the man said: 'I am not a man; but the man is very strong, though he is small. If you will let me bind you, you can match your strength against his'. So the man bound the tiger with rattan. Three times the tiger tried to free himself, but could not. Then the man confessed: 'I am the man and I shall kill you'. The tiger begged forgiveness; if his bonds were loosed, he would leave the Sasak land, and go to Bali and Java; and so he did. That is why there are no tigers in Lombok. This story is also represented in the Gedong Kirtya at K.10,207 (L.Or.10,357), and there are other versions or related tales in the collections.

Datu Aca dait Datu Begang (Datu Aca and the Queen of the Mice). This story is related to a *kramat* or holy place at Tundung, near Sukadana, East Lombok. Datu Aca was the village headman of Tundung. He cultivated dry fields (*rau*) on Gunung Siwia. One night, while watching his crops, he pissed into a half-coconut. The Mouse Queen came, drank the urine, and became pregnant, and brought forth a little girl. When she was six years old, Datu Aca saw her with the mouse. He took the girl and looked after her, but her

mother visited her every night in the field hut. When the girl grew up, Datu Aca married her, and she had a daughter. One night the Mouse Queen came into her cradle, so Datu Aca killed her. His wife returned, saw that the mouse was dead, but for shame said nothing. Datu Aca threw the remains of the mouse away on the hill called Montong Tundung. His wife used to go there to see her mother's resting place, and always came home weeping. One day Datu Aca followed her there, and she revealed the truth to him. He bade his wife not to grieve and promised a proper funeral for the mouse. So it came about that everyone in Lombok knew what Datu Aca had done. Now when a farmer kills a mouse in a field of ripening paddy, he brings the body to Montong Tundung, makes five kinds of soup, puts water on the grave, then takes it to sprinkle on his paddy. If he does so it will no longer be eaten by mice. There is a version of this story, told by Mamiq Meréyam of Suradadi at K.10,212 (L.Or.10,359).

Puteri Nyalé (the story of the Princess of Pujut). In former times there were many *datu* in Lombok. The Datu of Pujut had a beautiful daughter called Princess Mandalika Nyalé. At that time the ruler of Sélaparang had seven sons; he wanted the princess to be married to one of them, and sent an envoy to Pujut, but the princess could not decide, as she said she had not yet seen her suitors. So it was arranged that a week later, all seven princes of Sélaparang should come to Pujut. When the princess saw the seven princes, who were all alike, she was confused, and asked for time to think about it, and requested that they should return on the twentieth of the month *Atas Bulan Bubur Putih*, the tenth month of the Sasak year – said to be generally February/March – on the strand of Tanjung Ringgit. The princes returned on the 17th of the month in preparation for the decision of Tanjung Ringgit. On the 19th, the princess killed herself, leaving instructions in a letter that her body was to be cut up and cast into the sea at Tanjung Ringgit. On the next day, the Datu of Pujut, with his family and court, accompanied by a gamelan, took the body of the princess in a bier to the sea. When the seven princes of Sélaparang saw the procession, they were startled and when the Datu of Pujut read the letter of the princess, they all wept. Then they cast the dismembered body of the princess into the sea. Now up till today, on the anniversary of this tragedy, the people of southern and central Lombok come to Tanjung Ringgit, or to the strand at Kuta, when they go in boats to catch the *ikan nyalé* (a kind of seaworm) which only appear once a year. Goris (1938:200) describes the *nyalé*, having many feet, which is either eaten raw, or is baked or boiled by the people of Sukadana in East Lombok, where according to legend there was a princess who turned into *nyalé*, evidently a variant of this story.

Datu Untal (The Prince Who Was Swallowed Whole). In Labuan Haji, on the East Coast of Lombok, there was a kingdom of crocodiles, whose king

had a daughter, Denda Peropak. One day, an envoy from another crocodile kingdom, Dodokan, came to ask for her hand for the prince Den Nuna Teker Laut. This was agreed, but when he left, the princess was given to the Prince of Sugian. The king of Dodokan was angry and set out to avenge the insult and confronted the forces of Labuan Haji and Sugian. When the crocodile princess came to know that she was the cause of the conflict, she changed herself into a beautiful woman and ran away to another village, where the local ruler saw her and wanted to marry her. Her husband had to go to Sumbawa, but while he was away, she had a son, who was four years old by the time his father returned. He suspected that she had had the child by another man, but she protested that he was indeed the father, and to prove this, she suggested that they should go to Labuan Haji and throw the boy to the crocodiles. If they ate the child, she would be proved wrong. But if he were swallowed whole and regurgitated, she would be justified. When they did this, a large crocodile swallowed him whole, but not long after, vomited him out safe and sound. So the boy was called Datu Untal, the Prince Who Was Swallowed Whole. Thereupon, all the crocodiles swore an oath that they would never touch any of his descendants.

The examples of stories cited from the four smaller collections give some indications of the character and locale of the Sasak folk-tales, which are also reflected in the large collection in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, additionally represented by copies of nearly all in the KITLV Leiden collection, Or.508, in which there are about 430 stories or other short prose pieces. The latter collection, however, shows a much wider range of materials, themes and attitudes than those so far discussed. Because of its importance, we shall first discuss the manner in which the stories were collected and edited, and the aims of the organizers.

In 1939, Christiaan Hooykaas was appointed government linguist for Bali and Lombok, and worked through the Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk (nowadays known as the Gedong Kirtya) at Singaraja. While living at Gitgit, in the hills above Singaraja, he and his wife studied the Balinese language by reading folk-tales with villagers. The work of the Kirtya was directed not only to collecting and transcribing manuscripts, but also to taking down examples of oral literature, and covered both islands. Having a good start with the collecting of Balinese folk-tales, which were later drawn upon not only for research, but also for providing texts for teaching in the schools of Bali, a commensurate project of collecting folk-tales and other oral literature of the Sasak in Lombok was put in hand in 1940, together with the transcribing of Javanese and Sasak manuscripts of Lombok provenance. Five Sasak scholars worked with Hooykaas: Laloe Danillah, Laloe Darwasih, Laloe Moehammad Arapin, Laloe Sjoekoer and Laloe Togok. 51 informants collected texts of folk-tales and other oral pieces, representing 35 villages from many parts of Lombok.

Among the informants, the majority were schoolmasters, and this fact may have had some influence on the character of the materials they submitted, at least in some cases, as with stories which have an explicit moral, or stories or accounts with a background of school life, and perhaps Sasak renderings of some tales which were familiar through Indonesian schoolbooks. There are, for instance, a few Tantri tales in the collection, which may have reached Lombok either before Dutch times, or else in the present century through schoolbooks in Malay. There are also some folk-tale versions of traditional tales known from older and longer versions in *macapat* verse. The timing of the project accounts for the limitations of the subsequent use of the collection. When it was planned, there were undoubtedly a number of aims to be served. There was first the general one of assembling a major corpus of Sasak stories for research on oral literature. Then it was recognised that this would also provide excellent material for the study of the Sasak language, and further that selected Sasak folk-tales might be used for teaching in schools. The Second World War halted the implementation of such schemes, though after Indonesian independence the parallel Balinese material was employed in these ways. The situation in Lombok was less favourable. The teaching of Sasak language in schools, and the production of Sasak schoolbooks was not achieved, and the fact that the Sasak materials were preserved in Bali meant that access was difficult, the more so with the setting up of new regional divisions, when Lombok was detached from the administration in Bali and joined with Sumbawa to form the new province of Nusa Tenggara Barat.

Hooykaas had a set, mostly carbon copies, of nearly all the Sasak collection for his own use, and the earlier numbers he annotated with short summaries and assessments, and within the texts, he sometimes wrote verbal glosses in Dutch. Some of the stories he described as *nix*. This is not explained, but it looks as if his intent was to say that a story was too salty for use in schoolbooks. This set of transcripts is now included in the KITLV collection Or.Ms. 508. A rather restricted number of the stories are also represented in copies held in the collection of the Leiden University Library. The extent of this collection makes it possible to classify the stories independently of the system used in the *Sastra lisan Sasak* (Saidi, Thoir et al. 1984), by basing the categories on frequency of occurrence. From this, two special features appear, firstly that a number of types not found at all in the smaller collections are well represented here, and secondly, in view of the large number of informants, who submitted their materials independently, recurring themes appear which can be confidently classified as the basic core of Sasak storytelling tradition.

Within the collection, the individual pieces can be placed in four broad categories. Firstly, folk-tales, stories of imaginative content, mostly from the

context of village life, but also including fairy-tales and animal fables. Secondly, there are legends, which however unhistorical they may be, purport to tell of people, places and institutions in Lombok, and especially of their origins. Thirdly, there are genuine reminiscences from some of the informants, from the end of the period of Balinese rule and up to 1940. Fourthly, there are some didactic pieces, mostly by schoolmasters who were intent on teaching the requirements of morality and behaviour with illustrations from particular instances. Each of these categories can be further subdivided by the particular subjects with which they deal, or by series of anecdotes concerning one character.

Among the village tales, which are largely secular, and often of farcical, humorous or satirical nature, the chief characters are usually types, including the naughty child, the orphan boy who makes good, young men and young women, frequently in illicit sexual situations, husbands and wives, friends, often betraying their friendship, village fools, including some whose names occur again and again, widows and widowers. Some stories refer to pregnancy and childbirth, others to courting, assignations and chance encounters, to marriage, divorce, sickness and death. Some stories turn on physical disabilities, of the blind, deaf, dumb, mad, lame or hunchback; poor men become rich, and rich become poor. Many relate to rural occupations, including especially fishing, but also hunting and snaring birds, to working on the *rau* or forest clearing where dry rice and vegetables are grown; the favoured location for stories of adventure or scandal, contrasting with the infrequency of references to the *bangket* or wet rice field, which is probably too open to serve as the scene for romantic or extraordinary occurrences. A number of the stories have to do with thieving and cheating, usually ending with the come-uppance of the offenders. Officials of the village or of the mosque appear as leading characters, often to be mocked for their pomposity or officiousness. There are, however, many stories which defy close classification, but which illustrate well the variety of rural life, and the specialized knowledge possessed by the village people of the flora and fauna of Lombok, and of the processes of nature. The Sasak people show from their stories qualities of intelligence, wit, close observation of everything around them, and a deep understanding of human nature. The stories and other prose pieces constitute a sufficiently extensive and varied corpus of materials as to provide a comprehensive picture of Sasak rural life in the first half of the twentieth century.

Animal fables in Sasak have many of the universal characteristics of the genre, or at least accord with the general character of this class of story in the various literatures of Indonesia; but there are nevertheless some significant differences. There are a few fables which derive from the *Pancatantra*, such as K.10281, *Datu Leping dait Datu Ullah* (The King of the Frogs and the King of the Serpents), in which the son of a village headman was bitten by a snake,

but cured by an exorcist, which cursed the snake who landed in the kingdom of the frogs, and became the mount of the king. He got the service of three frogs, which he ate up, and in the end swallowed the king of the frogs too. K.10,289 (L.Or.10,371), *Loq manuk baka* (Young Mr. Stork), is the story of the stork and the fishes and K.10,433, *Kebango dait kerujuq* (The Heron and the Crayfish). The heron boasted that as the water of a mountain lake dried out, he would eat up all the stranded fishes and other creatures. The crayfish noted that he got tired from his feasting, and while he was sleeping, bit his neck and killed him. In K.10,509, *Bebaloq dait godèk* (The Crocodile and the Monkey), a female monkey climbed a breadfruit tree, when along came a crocodile. It is possible that some of these Sasak versions are old, coming directly from Javanese, but they may have come in recent times from Balinese, where the Tantri stories are known in various forms, or even through Malay readers used in schools.

The *kancil* (mousedeer) as a hero of animal fables does not appear in Sasak. In the Kirtya collection, it is mentioned in only one story, and then as an agricultural pest: K.10,436, *Amaq Bangkol dait kancil*, which tells of a farmer who sowed maize and pulses in his garden, where at night a mousedeer came and stole the seeds; eventually the farmer caught and killed it. The mousedeer appears not to live in Lombok. Among the Sasak, it is the civet cat, usually referred to as *ujat*, but occasionally as *mamah* or *rasé*, who is the type of the cunning small animal, usually in stories associated with the monkey, *godèk*, who always gets worsted. These stories are frequent, being recorded by many investigators. Among them is a series of nine, collected by Haji Muhammad Nawawi, of Mangkung, Central Lombok, beginning with a version of the most famous of all, *Teujat-ujat dait tegodèk-godèk maling jaé*, K.10,377, in which the civet cat and the monkey went to steal ginger from a garden, but were caught by the owner. The monkey who was the stronger, struggled free from the hands of his captor, but the civet cat he put into a cage. The sequel stories tell how the civet cat escaped, and the various imprudent actions the monkey was urged on to by the civet cat, so that he was stung by wasps, by a millipede, a scorpion and a water snake, and burnt in the embers of a forest fire. Finally, in *Tegodèk-godèk dait upang datu* (The Monkey and the King's Treasure), K.10,385, the monkey found the civet cat by the seashore, watching a giant clam (*kima*), which he represented as the king's treasure. When the civet cat went away, he left the monkey in charge. He reached out to the clam, which snapped shut on him and killed him. A comparable series of civet cat and monkey stories is given by Mamiq Singgih of Gerung, West Lombok. K.10,245 is *Ujat dait godèk maling jaé* (Stealing the Ginger), K.10,246, *Ujat nunggu gong sakti* (The Civet Cat Guards the Sacred Gong), in which he involved the monkey who got worsted, and K.10,247, *Ujat nunggu sabuk kemaliq*, in which he guarded the holy girdle, and the mon-

key got killed. In K.10,441, *Tebubut dait ujat*, the civet cat stole the quail's eggs. She appealed to the frog, who was unable to help, and indeed the civet cat ate him; then she appealed to the dog, who chased the civet cat and killed him. Sometimes the monkey appears with other animals as in K.10,238, *Godèk dait jawak* (The Monkey and the Lizard). The great ape, *godèk paueng* stole the eggs of the monitor lizard, *jawak*, but when the latter went to the water, the ape followed and drowned. Other animals which appear in Sasak fables are the buffalo (*kaoq*), ox (*sampi*), horse (*jaran*), deer (*mayung*), mouse (*begang*) and crocodile (*bebalog*, *bebongkol*). There are also numerous stories about birds, including the crow (*gagak*), the cuckoos (*kekélèk*, *kekuwo*), heron (*kebango*), owl (*empok*), quail (*bubut*), the wood pigeon (*berugaq*, *petuq*) and duck (*bèbèk*). The tiger (*macan*), the elephant (*gajah*) and the peacock (*merak*) are not found in Lombok, so it seems probably that stories about these creatures have been imported. Some domestic animals are only seldom participants in the stories: there are a few about the cat (*méong*) and dog (*basong*), but the latter is not liked by the Muslim Sasak, nor the pig (*bawi*).

A number of the oral prose tales are retold from verse romances or fairy-tales. Among these are K.10,146, *Bantèng raga*, K.10,274, *Ahmad Muhammad*, K.10,318, *Cupak Grantang*, K.10,374, *Datu Brahmara* (apparently a version of *Puspakarma*), and *Loq Balang Kesumbar*, K.10,484. Others are versions of Panji stories, such as K.10,213, *Panji Lenggara*, K.10,334, *Limbur Gegelang*, the story of a false princess, and K.10,517, *Puteri Sarindani*. Some are based upon, or at least reminiscent of western tales, such as *Begang désa dait begang dasan*, K.10,432, the story of the town mouse and country mouse, K.10,435, *Méong dait begang* (Belling the Cat), and K.10,475, *Tedèlèq awu* (Cinderella). Still others are of fairy-tale type, and perhaps have antecedents from elsewhere. Such is K.10,483, *Loq Kedondo*, the story of a boy who was transformed into a fish, but later resumed human form and married a princess. There are other stories of young men rescuing princesses from giants' caves, and marrying them, and of poor boys who make good and become kings.

In considering the imaginative folk-tales, there are some types of frequent occurrence in series of tales, or in long composite tales, others in long integral tales, where the plot and character are developed, some involving both village characters and animals, and some which are recorded from numerous informants, and so represent the basic repertoire. Among the animal fables, as we have seen, the most frequently met are the indigenous monkey and civet cat. There are also many village tales of farmers confronted with monkeys, and how they dealt with them. Such are K.10,243 *Pun Sadoq*, a man who had trouble with monkeys in his dry rice field. He built a watching platform in a *pojor* tree. The monkeys pelted him with stones, but he threw down the hard fruits of the *pojor*, killed one, and the rest ran away. K.10,292, *Amaq Pulas* was likewise the owner of a field troubled by monkeys. He used to sing; the

monkeys wanted to learn, and he promised to teach them. However he first got a snare, made of gum, then he gathered the monkeys together put their eyes out and killed them all. K.10,323 *Loq Amuk* was a young man who worked in his field, but at night a monkey came and interfered with it, but the young man took his revenge by blinding him with sap. These stories have in common with the animal fables the stress on the monkeys' mischievousness, and the fact that they all come to a bad end. Perhaps they served as warning tales for naughty boys.

Some of the favourite tales are fishing stories. K.10,085, *Pun Kenèngèk* tells of an old man who went fishing for *simbur* (*Clarias punctatus*, a fresh-water fish with barbs). On his way he met monkeys who tried to trick him out of his catch, by stealing it and climbing a tree, but he smoked them out and killed them. There are many tales about fishing for eels (*lindung*, tuna): these stories are of a farcical nature, such as K.10,324, *La Teipuaq-ipuaq* (Miss Bashful); while she stayed at home with her little brother, her father went fishing for eels. Meanwhile, an eel came to talk to the children. When the father returned empty-handed, the eel was persuaded into the cooking pot. There are stories of hunting (*seran*), and of snaring animals and birds (*sèt*, *pikat*), often of the troubles that the hunters had on their expeditions. Thus K.10,172, *Papuaq Jenah girang mikat*, tells of an old man who liked to go snaring birds. He caught doves, but lost them, was wounded by thorns, and generally had a bad time, and when he came home, cursed his luck.

The orphan boy, *Anak Iwoq*, or *Teiwoq-iwoq* is the hero of many tales. The story of how he set snares has already been related above. He lived alone with his grandmother, and had many other adventures. One of the most popular stories is of the orphan boy with his flute (K.10,205, K.10,322, K.10,537). He had dug up his mother's bones and made a flute; when the monkey heard him, he stole the flute, and took it up a tree where he played it. The orphan boy cried; an ox came, and tried to help him by knocking the tree down, but did not succeed. Then a snail came and offered help. He climbed the tree, bit the monkey in the groin, so that he dropped the flute and fell to his death. Not all the orphan boy tales are stories of success. K.10,140, *Tiwoq-iwoq kanca sampi*, tells how he took an ox to market for his grandmother, with disastrous consequences. K.10,409, *Tejugaq-jugul*, tells how he used to work in the forest, but one day was attacked by two oxen, gored and died. Others are of a mythological nature. K.10,470, *Anak iwoq batu batang* tells how an orphan boy and his sister were turned into a lake and a lotus, while K.10,471, *Anak iwoq* tells how two orphan girls became the voice of the thunder.

In an unpublished paper, entitled 'The orphan boy cycle in South-East Asia', Mervyn Jaspán (n.d.) noted that there were peoples of Southeast Asia with identical, similar or comparable stories to those he had himself collected from the Rejang in Sumatra from 1961-1963. He mentioned that Hooykaas

and Korn had drawn his attention to comparable legends from Bali, and Moehammad Koesnoe of the Airlangga University, Surabaya, told him of the Sasak stories. The orphan boy stories are well known among the Middle-Malay peoples of South Sumatra, such as the Pasemah, Serawai, Empat Lawang and Lembak.

There are many Sasak tales about the village fool. The most famous are those entitled *Loq Sekéq* or something similar. He was a stupid young man who persistently misunderstood instructions, with calamitous results. This series of anecdotes has already been discussed in connection with the *Sastra lisan Sasak* (Saleh, Thoir et al. 1984). There are versions in the Kirtya collection at K.10,086, K.10,287, K.10,412-16, and K.10,514. There are a variety of other such stories, where the central character is known by the more generalized name of *Loq Belok*, such as K.10,335, *Teruna Belok*, who only wanted to play and not to work. During the Lebaran Puasa he played in the graveyard, but eventually drowned in the river. K.10,494 tells how the fool was outwitted by a Chinaman.

There are several stories of village fools, variously named, concerning whom strings of anecdotes are told. One of these is *Amaq Bengaq*, K.10,248-51. He went on various occasions to the market of Gerung in West Lombok, to buy up various commodities, only to lose everything. First he purchased ferns, then bananas, then he became a carrier, then bought coconuts. Things always went wrong for him, and in the end he died. Another such character is *Amaq Dula* of the mountain village of Sembalun in East Lombok (K.10,228-31). He always did stupid things, and spoke a dialect that made him an object of ridicule. In turn, he bought shadow puppets, a buffalo, ducks and a wood pigeon. Another version of this tale is K.10,273, *Amaq Sembalun*, who was in the service of the Balinese Raja of Lombok, and repeatedly misunderstood his instructions. First he bought an old red horse instead of a dark red horse (*jaran mirah toaq* – the ambiguity is there in the Sasak); then he brought python droppings (*tai sawa*; but in Sembalun, *sawa* = wife); and exchanged a horse for a puppet of Umar Madi from the Amir Hamzah shadow play. K.10,386-K.10,406, is a series of anecdotes about *Amaq Mus*, 22 in all. In the first, he went to the forest to cut firewood, and on the way home saw a man with a knife dangling dangerously from his belt, but was too lazy to overtake and warn him. On another occasion he was offered a lift from the driver of a pony and trap, but the trap was going in the wrong direction, so Amaq Mus never accepted lifts since then. From time to time he went to market and made mistakes with purchases. On one occasion he prepared Moringa pods (*kelor*) as vegetables, but this led to a quarrel with his wife, and they were divorced and eventually he died.

Another series of stories concerns the misadventures of the physically handicapped. There are several stories of a blind man and a deaf man, who

went stealing together, such as K.10,351, *Loq Buta dait Loq Kedok*, who in the end came to grief. Again K.10,275, *Loq Bungkak dait Loq Buta*, is the story of two brothers, a hunchback and a blind boy. The two together went out hunting and caught a deer, but on the way home they set to quarrelling. The hunchback climbed a tree with the deer, but fell senseless to the ground; the blind lad did not see the deer, so went home without it. In other tales, the rich become poor, or the poor rich. So K.10,363, *Dengan sugih jari rara*, in which a rich man had five sons, who were lazy and brought him to ruin, similarly K.10,262, *Dedongèng Amaq Bonggo Angga*, a rich man, who had three sons, of whom two died and the third was a wastrel.

There are a number of fairly long composite stories with a central character about whom a number of anecdotes are told. Such is K.10,272 *Amaq Balang dait Inaq Balang*, the story of a magician (*tukang tenung*) in the time of the Datu of Sélaparang, who had encounters with various people. K.10,346, *Bajang tampa* tells of a jealous husband, Loq Dolah and his wife, La Sedilah, how they quarrelled in and out of the kitchen and the house, and how eventually he died. K.10,407, *Amaq Bangkol Tebalang* is the story of a childless couple during the time of the rulers of Pemban Pejanggiq. They were poor, and he got a living by cutting firewood in the forest. Then he got involved with cattle thieves, and eventually died of a stomach disorder.

These accounts show that certain stories are told again and again in Lombok, and so represent not only the most popular, but probably also the most original of the Sasak tales. These include the tale of the man annoyed by monkeys who interfered with his work on the *rau* or dry ricefield, the foolish young man, Lok Sekéq, the fool of Sembalun, the blind man and the deaf, the civet cat and the monkey stealing ginger, the monkey and the frog who found the stem of a banana tree floating in the flood, and finally the story of the origin of the cuckoos. This last is known by many titles, such as K.10,135 *Amaq Walu kanca anakna*, K.10,285, *La Timun Bongkok*, K.10,343 *Asal kemanukan kekèlèk dait kekuwo*, as well as K.10,469 and K.10,536, *Timun Bongkok*. In the first of these versions we are told how Amaq Walu (Mr. Pumpkin), had a son and a daughter, whose mother had died. The father remarried; he used to go for days to his garden plot in the forest. The stepmother abused the children, so they crept away to seek their father. They found a *buni* tree (*Antidesma bunius*, a tree of the *Euphorbiaceae*) with dark red, acid fruits, but as most of these were out of reach, they prayed that they might become birds. The boy became a *kekuwo* (cuckoo), and the girl a *kekèlèk* (night cuckoo), who through their calls appealed to their father. Through a dream, he found them, and they told him their story, but they could not resume their human form. So Amaq Walu returned home to his wife, and wounded her with a knife, rubbing in salt and tamarind into her wound, so that she died.

The remaining categories of prose pieces in the Kirtya collection have, at

least ostensibly a more factual content. Reference has already been made to the legends gathered together in the *Cerita rakyat* (1979), and in the *Sastra lisan Sasak* (Saidi, Thoir et al. 1984) to the story of *Puteri Nyalé*, and to the tale of the Mouse Queen. The latter is also represented in the Kirtya collection at K.10,212. Otherwise, legends do not figure in the Kirtya material. However, there are some pieces referring to Sasak Muslim custom, including descriptions of the ceremonies accompanying circumcisions (K.10,545, K.10,523), and visiting the tombs of Muslim saints during the Lebaran festival (K.10,446, K.10,527).

Among the reminiscences, the most important are those of Mamiq Meréyam of Suradadi, East Lombok. He is still remembered by relatives and friends in Suradadi and neighbouring villages. He had first seen service under the Balinese administration, up to 1894, and then was *juritulis*, village clerk of Suradadi when Mamiq Nursasih was headman there, and continued under Dutch administrators till about 1930. In 1940, he provided 117 prose pieces, of which 42 were folk-tales and 75 were short reminiscences. Three of these (K.10,141, K.10,177, K.10,186) are partly autobiographical, while another (K.10,150) is about Mamiq Nursasih under whom he served. He died at a great age about 1960. His contributions to the recording of folk-tales were of the kind already discussed. His reminiscences are unique and are stamped with his observation and experience, his understanding of human nature, and his predilection for a salty tale. Some of his accounts read like summaries of police reports or court cases.

Some of Mamiq Meréyam's memories are of his childhood times under the Balinese regime: of five boys playing a dangerous game in a ricefield when one of their number was killed, and the rest afraid to go home (K.10,218); of a man who set a trap for animals, and caught his wife in it (K.10,144); of another man who went to a funeral feast, and on his way home caught his foot in a trap, which he dragged all the way home with him (K.10,145); and of a dysentery epidemic in Suradadi (K.10,185). Other accounts are of the strained relationships between Sasak and Balinese of that time: the Balinese *punggawa*, local officials appointed by the Balinese Raja, were arrogant and oppressive, and were hated by the Sasak (K.10,130, K.10,151); Sinarah, a Sasak goldsmith worked for the Balinese Raja, but cheated on the gold. In danger of being apprehended, he fled to Sumbawa, where he worked for the ruler, but again dishonestly, so he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned home under a different name (K.10,175). Badriyah, the village headman of Karang Oloh, near Mataram, thought well of himself, affected fine dress and went to the royal court, but was not deferential to the ruler, and so was stabbed to death (K.10,174). La Gosoq was a brave young woman, who helped Sasak fugitives in the war with the Balinese, but was apprehended by the government (K.10,162).